



Edward the 5th King of Englad
and France, Lord of Ireland



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and France, Lord of Ireland

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE PITIFVLL
Life, and unfortunate Death
of *Edward* the fifth, and
the then Duke of *Yorke*
his brother :

With the troublesome and
tyrannical government of usur-
ping *Richard* the third, and
his miserable end.

Written by the Right Ho-
norable Sir *Thomas Moore*,
sometimes Lord Chan-
cellor of England.

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TO
THE RIGHT WOR-
SHIPFULL SIR IOHN
LENTHALL Knight,
Marshall of the
Kings-bench.

SIR,

IT is not unknowne
to the World, the
great care, ear-
nest, sedulitie &
laudable custome that hath al-
waies been observed in all ages
for the preservation of anti-
quities; by meanes wherof, the
aets and occurrences of former
times are so clearely demon-
strated, as if they were mani-
fested

The Epistle

fested to the world by a perfect and lively representation, which affordeth in it selfe a double profit, doth thereby allure all well-disposed persons to the imitation of those things which are honest and vertuous, and to the evitation of such things as are evill and obnoxious, letting them thereby understand the happie issue and successe of the one, and the miserable and wretched end and event of the other: for histories are as so many Records and Registers of matters that hath beene already past, which being a thing that our humane natures are much inclined unto, gives a great pleasure and delight in the reading: Especially to those

Dedicatorie.

those that are well affected to the same. The consideration hereof hath moved me to revive that which hath for a long time been raked up in the embers of oblivion. For there comming by chance into my hand a booke long since printed, the authour whereof was that famous and learned Knight Sir Thomas Moore, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England; wherein is set forth the short Raigne, and unfortunate death of the two young Princes, Edward the sixth, & the the Duke of York his brother, with the troublesome and tyrannicall government of usurping Richard the third, and his miserable end, both which for the matter

THE END OF THE WORLD



THE
PITTIFVLL
LIFE OF KING
EDVVARD
the Fifth.



THE Eternall
God calling to
his Mercy the
Noble Prince
King *Edward*
the Fourth of
that Name, *Edward* his eldest
sonne (Prince of *Wales*) began
his Reigne the ninth day of A-
pril, in the yeere of our Lord,
1483. and in the 23. yeere of
B Lewis

This
Kings
time with
some part
of King
Richard
the third,
as shall ap-
peare by a
note made
at that
place, was
written by
Sir *Tho-*
mas Moore.

Lewis the eleventh then French King : Which young Prince reigned a small space and little season over this Realme, either in pleasure or liberty. For his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, within three months deprived him not onely of his Crowne and Regality, but also unnaturally bereft him of his naturall life : And for the declaration by what crafty engine he first attempted his ungracious purpose, and by what false, colourable and untrue allegations he set forth openly his pretended enterprize, and finally, by what shamefull, cruell, and detestable act he performed the same ; Ye must first consider of whom he and his Brother descended, their natures, conditions and inclinations, and then you shall easily perceive that there could not be a more cruell Tyrant appointed to
atchiew

atchieve a more abominable enterprife.

Their Father was *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *Yorke*, which began not by warre, but by Law to challenge the crown of *England*, putting his claime in the Parliament, holden the thirtieth yeere of King *Henry* the sixth, where either for right or for favour, his cause was so set forth and advanced, that the Blood of the said King *Henry*, although he had a goodly Son, was clearly abjected, and the Crowne of the Realme (by authority of Parliament) entayled to the Duke of *Yorke* and his Heires after the decease of the said King *Henry* the Sixth. But the Duke not intending so long to tarry, but minding under the pretext of dissention growne and risen within the Realm, and of Covenants made in the Parliament, not kept,

Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

The 3.
sonnes of
Richard
Duke of
Yorke de-
scribed.

but broken, to prevent the time and to take upon him the Governance in King *Henries* life, was by too much hardnesse slaine at the Battaile of *Wakefield*, leaving behind him three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*. All these three as they were great estates of Birth, so were they great and stately of stomacke, greedy of promotions, and impatient partners of rule and authority.

This *Edward* revenged his Fathers death, and deposed King *Henry* the Sixth, and attained the Crowne and Scepter of the Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* was a goodly and well featured Prince, in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his Brother, or the envy of his enemies had not set his Brother against him: for were it by the
Queene

Queene or the Nobles of her Bloud, which highly maligned the Kings Kindred (as women commonly, not of malice, but of Nature, hate such as their husbands love) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King, at the least wise, heinous Treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he in fault, or were he faultlesse, attainted was hee by Parliament, and judged to death; and thereupon hastily drowned in a But of Malmsey within the Towre of London. Whose death King Edward (although hee commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitteously hee bewailed and sorrowfully repented it.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, the third Sonne (of which I must most entreat) was in wit and courage equall with the other, but in beauty and lineaments

George Duke of Clarence drowned in a But of Malmsey.

The Description of Richard the 3.

ments of Nature farre underneath both; for he was little of stature, evill featured of limbes, crooke-backed, the left shoulder much higher then the right, hard favoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and among common persons a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrathfull and envious; and as it is reported, his Mother the Dutches had much adoe in her travell, that shee could not be delivered of him uncut, and that hee came into the world the feet forward, as men be borne outward, and as the same ran, not untoothed: whether that men of hatred reported above the truth, or that Nature changed his course in his beginning, which in his life committed many things unnaturally, this I leave to Gods Judgement. Hee was no evill Captaine in warre, as to the
the

the which, his disposition was more inclined, then to peace. Sundry Victories he had, and some Overthrowes, but never for default of his owne person, either for lacke of hardinesse or politicke order. Free hee was of his expences, and somewhat above his power liberall; with large gifts he gat him unstedfast friendship: for which cause he was faine to borrow, pill and extort in other places, which gat him stedfast hatred. Hee was close and secret, a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where he inwardly hated, not letting to kisse whom he thought to kill, spitefull and cruell, not alway for ill will, but oftner for ambition and to serve his purpose; friend and foe were all indifferent: where his advantage grew, hee spared no mans

King *Henry* the 6,
 flaine in
 the Tow-
 er by *Richard* the
 3.

death whose life withstood his purpose. He flew in the Tower King *Henry* the Sixth; saying, Now is there no Heire male of King *Edward* the third, but we of the House of *Yorke*: which murder was done without King *Edward* his assent, which would have appointed that butcherly office to some other, rather then to his owne Brother,

Some Wise men also thinke, that his drift lacked not in helping forth his owne Brother of *Clarence* to his death, which thing in all appearance he resisted, although hee inwardly minded it. And the cause thereof was, as men noting his doings and proceedings did marke (because that he long in King *Edwards* time thought to obtaine the Crown, in case that the King his Brother, (whose life he looked that ill dyet would soone shorten) should

should happen to decease, as he did indeed, his children being young. And then if the Duke of *Clarence* had lived, his pretended purpose had been farre hindered: For if the Duke of *Clarence* had kept himselfe true to his Nephew the young King, every one of these casts had bin a Trumpe in the Duke of *Gloucesters* way: but when he was sure that his Brother of *Clarence* was dead, then hee knew that hee might worke without that danger. But of these points there is no certainty, and whosoever divineth or conjectureth, may as well shoot too farre as too short: but this conjecture afterward tooke place (as few doe) as you shall perceiue hereafter.

But before I declare to you how this *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* began his mischievous imagined and pretended

enterprise, as apparently shall be opened, I must a little put you in remembrance of a loving and charitable act, no lesse profitable then pleasing to the whole Commonalty, if it had bin so inwardly thought as it was outwardly dissembled, which King *Edward* did, lying on his death bed, not long before he dyed. For in his life, although that the division amongst his friends somewhat grieved and vexed him, yet in his health he lesse regarded and tooke heed to it, by reason that he thought that he was able in all things to rule both parties, were they never so obstinate: But in his last sicknesse (which continued longer then false and fantasticall tales have untruly and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this Pamphlet truely knew) when hee perceived his naturall strength was



was gone, and hoped little of recovery by the arts of all his Physicians, which he perceived onely to prolong his life; Then he began to consider the youth of his Children, howbeit hee nothing lesse mistrusted then that that hapned; yet he wisely foreseeing and considering, that many harmes might ensue by the debate of his Nobles, while the youth of his children should lack discretion and good counsell of their friends, (for hee knew well that every part would worke for their owne commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour, then by profitable advertisement to doe the Children good:) wherefore lying on his death bed at *Westminster*, hee called to him such Lords as then were about him, whom hee knew to be at variance, especially the Lord Marquesse

queste *Dorset* son to the *Queen*, and the *Lord Hastings*, against whom the *Queene* especially grudged for the favour that the King bare him, and also she thought him familiar with the King in wanton company: her Kin bare him envy, aswell for that the King made him *Captaine of Calice*, which office the *Lord Rivers* Brother to the *Queene* claimed of the King by his former promise, as of divers other gifts which hee received that they looked for. And when these Lords with divers other of both parties were come unto the Kings presence, he caused himselfe to be raised up with pillowes, and as I can guesse, said thus or much like in sentence to them.

An Exhortation
of King
Edward
the 4. on
his death
bed.

My Lords, my deare kinsmen and allies, in what plight I now lye, you see, and I perfectly feelee; by the which I look
the

the lesse while to live with you, therefore the more deeply I am moved to care in what case I leave you; for such as I leave you, such are my children like to finde you, which if they should finde at variance (as God forbid) they themselves might hap to fall at warre, ere their discretion would serve to set you at peace: You see their youth, of which I reckon the onely surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not al' you to love them, if each of you hate other: If they were men, your faithfulnessse might hap to suffice, but childhood must bee maintained by mens authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsell; which they can never have except you give it, nor you give it except you agree; for where each laboureth to breake that the other maketh,
and

and for hatred each impugneeth others counsell, there must needs be a long tract, ere any good conclusion can issue. And further, while each partie laboureth to be chiefe flatterer, adulation shall then have more place, then plaine and fairfull advice, of which must needs enſue the evill bringing up of the Prince, whose minde, in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw downe this Noble Realme to ruine: But if grace turne him to wisdom (which God send him) then they which by evill meanes pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favour, so that at the length evill drifts drive to naught, and good plaine wayes prosper and flourish. Great variance hath beene betweene you, not alwayes for great causes: Sometime a thing right well

well intended and misconstrued, hath beene turned to the worse, or a small displeasure done to you, either by your owne affection, or by instigation of evill tongues, hath beene sorely aggravated. But this I know wel, you had never so great cause of hatred, as you have of love, because wee be all men, and that we be all Christian men.

This I will leave to Preachers to tell you, and yet I know not whether any Preachers words ought more to move you, then I that am going by and by to the place that they al preach of. But this shall I desire of you to remember, that the one part of you being of my bloud, the other of my allies, and each of you with other either of kindred or affinity, which is the very spirituall affinity and kindred in Christ, as all partakers of

of the Sacraments of Christs Church. The weight of which consanguinity if we did beare, as would to God wee did, then should wee more be moved to spirituall charity then to fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid that you love the worse together for the selfe-same cause that you ought to love the better, and yet that happeneth; for no where fin le wee so deadly debate as amongst them which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a Serpent is ambition and desire of vaine glory and soveraignty, while amongst estates, when he is once entred, he creepeth forth so farre, till with division and variance hee turneth all to mischief; First longing to be next to the best, afterward equall with the best, and at the last chiefe and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite
of

of worship, and the debate and
dissention that grew thereby,
what losse, what sorrow, what
trouble hath within these few
yeeres growne within this
Realme, I pray God as well to
forget as wee well remember;
which thing if I could as well
have foreseene, as I have with
my more paine then pleasure
proved, by God his blessed
Lady (that was his common
oath) I would never have won
the courtesies of mens knees
with the losse of so many heads.
But sith things passed cannot be
called againe, much more ought
we to beware, by what occasi-
on we have taken so great hurt
before, that wee presently fall
not into that occasion againe.
Now be these griefs passed, and
all is quiet, thanked bee God;
and likely well to prosper in
wealthfull peace, under your
Cousins my children, if God
send

send them life, and you love and concord. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom although God did his pleasure, yet should this Realme alwayes finde Kings, and peradventure as good Kings as they. But if you amongst your selves in a childes Raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall innocently perish, and hee and you also, ere this Land finde peace and quiet againe: wherefore in these last words that ever I look to speak to you, I exhort and require you all, for the love that you have borne to mee, and for the love that I have borne to you, and for the love that our Lord beareth to us all; From this time forward, all griefes forgotten, each of you love other, which I verily trust you will, if you any thing regard God or your Kings affinity or kindred, this

this Realme, your owne Coun-
try, or your owne safety and
wealth. And therewithall, the
King for faintnesse no longer
enduring to sit up, layed him
downe on his right side, his face
toward them. And there was
none present that could for-
beare weeping, but the Lords
comforted him with as good
words as they could, and an-
swered for the time, as they
thought should stand with his
pleasure. And there in his pre-
sence (as by their words ap-
peared) each forgave other,
and joyned their hands toge-
ther, when, as it after appeared
by their deedes, their hearts
were farre asunder. And so
within a few dayes, this Noble
Prince deceased at *Westminster*,
the ninth day of *April*, in the
yeere of our Lord, 1483. after
that he had raigned 22. yeeres,
one month, and eight dayes,
and

and was with great Funerall pompe conveiged to *Windsore*, leaving behinde him two sons, *Edward* the Prince (of whom this story entreateth) a childe of 13. yeeres of age, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* two yeeres younger then the Prince, and five daughters, *Elizabeth*, which by Gods Grace was married to King *Henry* the seventh and Mother to King *Henry* the 8. *Cicile* not so fortunate as faire, first wedded to the Vicount *Welles*, after to one *Kync*, and lived not in great wealth, *Bridget* professed her selfe a close Nunne at *Sion*, *Anne* was married to Lord *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* and Duke of *Norfolke*, *Katherine* the youngest daughter was married to Lord *William Courtney*, sonne to the Earle of *Devonshire*, which long time tossed in either fortune, sometime in wealth,

wealth, after in aduersity, till the benignity of her Nephew King *Henry* the eighth brought her into a sure estate, according to her degree and Progeny.

This King *Edward* was such a Prince of Governancie and behaviour in the time of peace (for in the time of warre each must bee others enemy) that there was never any King in this Realme attaining the Crowne by warre and battaile, so heartily beloved with the more substance of his people, nor hee himselte so specially favoured in any part of his life, as at the time of his death : which favour and affection after his death, by the cruelty, mischief and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highly towards him more encreased. At such time as he dyed, the displeasure of those

those that bare him a grudge for King *Henry* the sixth his sake (whom he deposed) was well asswaged, and in effect quenched within the space of 22.yeeres, which is a great part of a mans life, and some were reconciled and growne into his favour, of the which he was never strange, when it was with true heart demanded. Hee was goodly of Personage, and Princely to behold, of heart couragious, politicke in counsell, and in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyfull then proud, in peace just and mercifull, in war sharpe and fierce, in the Field bold and hardy, and yet nevertheless no farther then reason and policie would adventure, whose warres whosoever circumspectly and advisedly considereth, hee shall no lesse commend his wisdome and policie where

he

he avoided them, then his man-
hood where hee vanquished
them. Hee was of visage full-
faced and lovely, of body
mighty, strong and clean made:
with over-liberall and wanton
dyet he waxed something cor-
pulent and burly, but never-
thelesse not uncomely. Hee
was in youth greatly given to
fleshy wantonnesse, from the
which health of body in great
prosperity and fortune, with-
out an especiall grace hardly
refraineth. This fault little
grieved his people; for neither
could any one mans pleasure
stretch or extend to the displea-
sure of very many, nor a multi-
tude bee grieved by a private
mans fantasie or voluptuous-
nesse, when it was done with-
out violence. And in his latter
dayes he left all wild dalliance,
and fell to gravity, so that hee
brought his Realme into a
wealthy

wealthy and prosperous estate, all feare of outward enemies were cleerely extinguished, and no warre was in hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for. The people were toward their Prince not in a constrained feare, but in a true, loving, and wilfull obedience among themselves, and the Commons were in good peace. The Lords whom hee knew at variance, hee on his death bed (as hee thought) brought to good concord, love and amity. And a little before his death, he had left gathering of money of his subjects, which is the onely thing that draweth the hearts of *English* men from their Kings and Princes: nor nothing he enterprised nor tooke in hand, by the which he should be driven thereunto. For his tribute out of *France* he had a little before recovered and

and obtained. And the yeere before he dyed, hee recovered againe the Towne of *Barwicke* against the King of *Scots*. And albeit that all the time of his reigne, he was so benigne, courteous and familiar, that no part of his vertues was esteemed more than those high humilities: Yet that condition in the end of his last dayes decayed not, in the which many Princes by a long continued Sovereignty, decline to a proud port and behaviour from their conditions accustomed at their beginning. Yet lowlineffe and gentleneffe so farre forth in him increased, that the Summer before he dyed, hee being at *Havering* at the Bower, sent for the Maior of *London* thither, onely to hunt and make pastime, where hee made them not so hearty but so familiar and friendly cheere, and

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sent also to their Wives such plenty of Venison, that no one thing in many dayes before gat him either more hearts or more hearty favour amongst the common people, which oftentimes more esteeme and take for great kindnesse a little courtesie, then a great profit or benefit.

And so this Noble Prince deceased, as you have heard, in that time his life was most desired, and when his people most desired to keepe him: Which love of his people, and their entire affection toward him, had beene to his Noble Children (having in themselves also many gifts of Nature, as many Princely vertues, as much good towardnesse as their age could receive) a marvellous fortress and a sure armour, if the division and dissention of their friends had not unarmed them

and

and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of Sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, which if either kind or kindnesse had holden place, must needes have beene their defence. For *Richard Gloucester*, by nature their Uncle, by Office their Protector, to their Father greatly beholden, and to them by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bonds broken and violated which binde man and man together, without any respect of God or the World, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not onely of their dignity and pre-eminence, but also of their naturall lives and worldly felicity.

And first to shew you, that by conjecture he pretended this thing in his Brothers life, yee shall understand for a truth that the same night that King *Edward* dyed, one called *Mistel-*

brooke, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Redcrosse-street* without *Cripple Gate* of *London*, and when he was with hasty wrapping quickly let in, the said *Mistelbrooke* shewed unto *Pottier* that King *Edward* was that night deceased: by my truth, quoth *Pottier*, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be King, and that I warrant thee. What cause hee had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether hee being his servant knew any such thing pretended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, but of all likelihood hee spake it not of nought.

But now to returne to the true History, were it that the Duke of *Gloucester* had of old fore practised this conclusion, or was before-time moved thereunto, and put in hope by

the tender age of the young Princes his Nephews, as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that that he never intended. Certaine it is, that he being in the North parts, for the good governance of the Countrey, being advertised of his Brothers death, contrived the destruction of his Nephewes with the usurpation of the Royall Dignity and Crowne. And forasmuch as he well wist, and had holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred and the Kings Bloud, either part envying others authority, he now thought, as it was indeed, a furtherly beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground and situation of his unnatural building, if hee might under the pretence of revenging of old

displeasures, abuse the ignorance and anger of the one party to the destruction of the other, and then to win to his purpose as many as he could: and such as could not be won, might be lost ere they looked for it. But of one thing hee was certaine, that if his intent were once perceived, hee should have made peace betweene both parties with his owne blood: but all his intent he kept secret till hee knew his friends; of the which *Henry* the Duke of *Buckingham* was the first that sent to him, after his Brothers death, a trusty servant of his, called *Persivall*, to the City of *Yorke*, where the Duke of *Gloucester* kept the K. his brothers Funeralls. This *Persivall* came to *John Ward* a secret Chamberer to the Duke of *Gloucester*, desiring that hee in close and covert manner might speake

Stafford

speake with the Duke his Master : whereupon in the dead of the night, the Duke sent for *Persivall* (all other being avoided) which shewed to the Duke of *Gloucester*, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Master, in this new World would take such part as hee would, and would farther waite upon him with a thousand good fellowes, if need were.

The Duke sent backe the Messenger with great thanks, and divers privie instructions by mouth: which *Persivall* did so much by his travell, that he came to the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master into the Marches of *Wales*, and presently after with new instructions met with the Duke of *Gloucester* at *Nottingham*, which was come out of the North-country with many Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 600. Horse



and more, in his journey towards *London*. And after secret meeting and communication had betweene him and the Duke of *Gloucester*, hee returned with such speed, that hee brought the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master to meeete with the Duke of *Gloucester* not far from *Northampton*, with three hundred Horses, and so they two came together to *Northampton*, where they first began their unhappy enterprife, and so the Duke of *Buckingham* continued stil with the Duke of *Gloucester* till he was crowned King, as yee shall plainly perceive hereafter.

The young King, at the death of his Father, kept household at *Ludlow*, for his Father had sent him thither for Justice to be done in the Marches of *Wales*, to the end that by the authority of his presence, the wilde

wilde *Welshmen* and evill disposed persons should refraine from their accustom'd murthers and outrages. The governance of this young Prince was committed to Lord *Anthony Woodville* Earle *Rivers* and Lord *Scalles*, Brother to the *Queene*, a wise, hardy, and honourable personage, as valiant of hands as politick in Counsell; and with him were associate others of the same party, and in effect, every one as hee was neere of kin unto the *Queene*, so was he planted next about the Prince. That drift by the *Queene* seemed to be devised, whereby her bloud might of right in tender youth be so planted in the Princes favour, that afterward it should hardly be eradicated out of the same.

The Duke of *Gloucester* turned all this to their destruction, and upon that ground set

the foundation of his unhappy building : For whom soever he perceived to be at variance with them, or to beare toward himselfe any favour, hee brake unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor yet to bee suffered, that the young King their Master and kinsman should be in the hands and custody of his Mothers kindred, sequestred in manner from their company and attendance, of which every one ought him as faithfull service as they, and many of them of farr more honourable part of kin then his Mothers side, whose bloud, quoth the Duke of *Gloucester*, saving the Kings pleasure, was farre unmeet to be matched with his, which now to be removed from the King, and the least Noble to bee left about him,

him, is, quoth he, neither honourable to his Majesty, nor to us, and also to him lesse surety, to have his Nobles and mightiest of his friends from him, and to us all no little danger to suffer, and especially our ill willers to grow into great authority with the King in youth, namely, which is light of beliefe and soone perswaded.

Yee remember, that King *Edward* himselfe, albeit he was both of age and discretion, yet was he ruled in many things by that faction, more then stood then with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except onely the immoderate advancement of themselves, which whether they thirsted sore after their owne weale or no, it were hard I thinke to guesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden

den better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might, peradventure, easely have trapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this; and why not as easely as they have done others, or this as neere of the Bloud Royall, but our Lord hath wrought his will, and thanked be his grace, that perill is past: howbeit, as great is growing, if wee suffer this young King in his enemies hands, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement to any of our undoing; which things, God and our good provision forbid; of which good provision, none of us have any thing the lesse need for the late attonement made, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties hearts or wills, nor none of us is so unwise, or so much overicene, as to trust a
new

new friend made of an old foe,
or to thinke that any onely
kindenesse so sodainly contra-
cted in an houre, continued
scantly yet a fortnight, should
be deeper set in our stomackes
then a long accustomed malice
many yeeres rooted.

With these perswasions and
writings, the Duke of *Gloucester*
set on fire them which were
easie to kindle, and especially
two, *Henry Duke of Buckingham*,
and *William Lord Hastings*, and
Lord Chamberlaine, both men
of honour and of great power,
the one by long succession from
his Ancestors, the other by his
Offices and the Kings favour.
These two not bearing each to
other so much love, as hatred
both to the Queenes bloud,
accorded together with the
Duke of *Gloucester*, that they
would remove from the King
all his Mothers friends,

friends, under the name of their enemies.

Whereupon the Duke of *Gloucester*, being advertised that the Lords about the King intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with such a number of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the assembling and gathering of people, and in manner of open warre, wherof the end he knew was doubtfull, and in the which the King being on the other side, his part should have the name and face of Rebellion:

He secretly therefore by divers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded, that it was neither need, and should also be dangerous for the King to come up so strong; for as now, every Lord loved other, and

no other thing studied for, but the triumph of his Coronation, and honour of the King. And if the Lords about the King should assemble, in the Kings name, much people, they should give the Lords betwixt whom and them there had beene some time debate, an occasion to feare and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the Kings safe-guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance, then to their new atonement; for the which cause, they on the other part might assemble men also for their defence, whose powers shee knew well stretched farre; and thus should all the Realme fall in an uproare, and of the mischief that thereof should ensue (which was likely to be not a little) the most harme was like to fall
where

where she least would, and then all the World would put her and her kindred in the blame; saying, That they had unwisely and untruly broken the amity and peace, which the King her Husband had so prudently made between her kindred and his, which amity his Kinne had alwayes observed.

The Queene being thus perswaded, sent word to the King and to her Brother, that there was no cause nor need to assemble any peope, and also the Duke of *Gloucester* and other Lords of his side, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queenes friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the King toward *London* with a sober company in great haste (but not in good speed) till hee came to *Northampton*, and from thence hee removed to *Stony Stratford*.

Stratford. On which day, the two Dukes and their traine came to *Northampton*, faigning that *Stony Stratford* could not lodge them all, where they found the Earle *Rivers*, intending the next morning to have followed the King, and to bee with him early in the morning. So that night, the Dukes made to the Earl *Rivers* friendly cheere, but as soone as they were departed, very familiar, with great courtesie in open sight, and the Earle *Rivers* lodged, the two Dukes with a few of their privie friends fell to Councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night, and in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their lodgings, to haste to horsebacke, for their Lords were in manner ready to ride, whereupon all their servants were ready ere the Lord *Rivers*
servants

servants were awake. Now had the Dukes taken the keyes of the Inne into their possession, so that none should issue out without their consent. And over this in the high way toward *Stony Stratford*, they set certaine of their folkes that should cause and compell to returne againe all persons that were passing from *Northampton* to *Stony Stratford*, saying that the Dukes themselves would be the first that should come to the King from *Northampton*: thus they bare folke in hand. But when the Earle *Rivers* understood the Gates closed, and the wayes on every side beset, neither his servants, neither himselfe suffered to go out, perceiuing so great a thing without his knowledge, not begun for nought, comparing this present doing with the last nights cheere, in so few houres
fo

so great a change, marvellously
misliked it. Howbeit, sith hee
could not get away, hee deter-
mined not to keepe himselſe
close, lest hee should seeme to
hide himselſe for some secret
feare of his owne fault, where-
of he saw no such cause in him-
selſe; wherefore on the surety
of his owne conscience hee de-
termined to goe to them, and
to inquire what this matter
might meane: Whom as soone
as they saw, they began to quar-
rell with him, affirming that he
pretended to set distance be-
twene the King and them, to
bring them to confusion,
which should not lye in his po-
wer; and when he began, as he
was an eloquent and well-spo-
ken man, in goodly wise to ex-
cuse himselſe, they would not
heare his answer, but tooke
him by force and put him in
ward. And then they moun-
ted

ted on horsebacke and came in
haste to *Stony Stratford*, where
the King was going to horse-
backe, because hee would leave
the lodging for them, for it was
too straight for both the com-
panies. And when they came
to his presence, they alighted
and their company about
them, and on their knees salu-
ted him, and hee them gently
received, nothing earthly
knowing nor mistrusting as
yet. The Duke of *Buckingham*
said aloud, On afore Gentle-
men, and Yeomen keepe your
roomes, and therewith in the
Kings presence they picked a
quarrell to the Lord *Richard*
Grey the Queenes sonne, and
Brother to the Lord Marquesse,
and halfe Brother to the King,
saying, that hee and the Mar-
quesse his Brother, and the
Lord *Rivers* his Uncle, had
compassed to rule the King and
the

the Realme, and set variance
betweene the estates, and to
subdue and destroy the Noble
Bloud of the Realme. And to-
ward the accomplishment of
the same, they said, the Lord
Marquesse had entred in-
to the Tower of *London*, and
thence had taken out treasure,
and sent men to the Sea, which
things these Dukes knew well
were done for a good purpose,
and as very necessary, appoin-
ted by the whole Counsell at
London, but somewhat they
must say: Unto the which
words the king answered, what
my Brother Marquesse hath
done, I cannot say, but in good
faith, I dare well answer for
my Uncle *Rivers* and my Bro-
ther here, that they bee inno-
cent of such matters. Yea, my
Liege, quoth the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham, they have kept the dea-
ling of these matters farre from
the

the knowledge of your good Grace. And forth-with they arrested the Lord *Richard* and Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawte*, knights, in the Kings presence, and brought the King and all backe to *Northampton*, where they tooke farther counsell in their affaires. And there they sent from the King whom it pleased them, and set about him such servants as better pleased them then him. At which dealing he wept and was not content, but it booted not. And at dinner, the Duke of *Gloucester* sent a dish from his owne Table to the Lord *Rivers*, praying him to be of good cheere, and all should be well: hee thanked him, and prayed the Messenger to beare it to his Nephew the Lord *Richard* with like words, whom he knew to have need of comfort, as one to whom such adver-

adversity was strange, but hee
himselſe had beene alwayes
enured therewith, and there-
fore could beare it the better.
But for all this meſſage, the
Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent the
Lord *Rivers*, the Lord *Richard*
and Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and
Sir *Richard Hawte* into the
North parts into divers pri-
ſons, but at laſt, all came to
Pomfret, where they all foure
were beheaded without judge-
ment.

In this manner as you have
heard, the Duke of *Glouceſter*
tooke on him the Governance
of the young King, whom with
much reverence hee conveighed
towards *London*. Theſe ty-
dings came haſtily to the
Queene before midnight, by a
very fore report, that the King
her ſonne was taken, and that
her Brother and her other ſon,
and other her friends were ar-
reſted

rested and sent, no man knew
whither. With this heavie ti-
dings the Queene bewailed her
childs ruine, her friends mis-
chance, and her owne misfor-
tune, cursing the time that ever
she was perswaded to leave the
gathering of people to bring
up the King with a great power,
but that was passed, and there-
fore now she tooke her younger
sonne, the Duke of *Yorke*, and
her daughter, and went out of
the Palace of *Westminster* into
the Sanctuary, and there lod-
ged in the Abbots place, and
shee and all her children and
company were registred for
Sanctuary persons. The same
night there came to Doctor *Ra-*
theram Archbishop of *Yorke*,
and Lord Chancelour, a mes-
senger from the Lord Cham-
berlaine to *Yorke place* beside
Westminster; the Messenger was
brought to the Bishops Be-
sid

side, and declared to him that the Dukes were gone back with the young King to *Northampton*, and declared further, that the Lord *Hastings* his master sent him word, that hee should feare nothing, for all should be well. Well, (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as wee have seene it, and then the messenger departed. Whereupon the Bishop called up all his servants, and tooke with him the great Seale, and came before day to the Queen, about whom hee found much heavinesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conveyance and carriage of her stuffe into Sanctuary; every man was busie to carry, beare and convey stuffe, chests and fardels, no man was unoccupied, and some carried more, then they were commanded to another place.

D

The

The Queene sat alone below
on the Rushes all desolate and
dismaid, whom the Archbis-
shop comforted in the best
manner that he could, shewing
her, that the matter was no-
thing so sore as she took it for,
and that hee was put in good
hope and out feare by the mes-
sage sent to him from the Lord
Hastings. A woe worth him,
quoth the Queene, for it is hee
that goeth about to destroy me
and my bloud. Madame, quoth
he, be of good comfort, and
assure you, if they crowne any
other King then your sonne,
whom they now have, we shall
on the morrow crowne his
Brother, whom you have here
with you. And here is the
Great Seale, which in likewise
as your Noble Husband deli-
vered it to mee, so I deliver it
to you, to the use of your Son
& therewith delivered her the

Great

Great Seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when hee opened his windowes and looked on the *Thames*, hee might see the River full of Boats, of the Duke of *Gloucester* his servants watching, that no person should goe to Sanctuary, nor none should passe unsearched.

Then was there great rumour and commotion in the Citie, and in other places, the people diversly divined upon this dealing. And divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, either for favour of the Queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled companies, and went flocking together in harnesse. And many also, for that they recounted this demanour attempted, not so specially against other Lords, as against the King himselfe, in disturbance of his Coronation,

therefore they assembled by and by together, to commune of this matter at *London*. The Archbishop of *Yorke*, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to over-much lightnesse, that he so suddenly had yeelded up the Great Seale to the Queene, to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained without especiall commandement of the King, secretly sent for the Seale againe, and brought it with him, after the accustomed manner, to meete with the Lords.

At this meeting, the Lord *Hastings*, whose truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the Lords to beleeve, that the Duke of *Gloucester* was faithfull and sure towards his Prince, and that the Lord *Rivers*, the Lord *Richard*, and o-
ther

ther Knights apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, put under arrest, for their surety, and not for the Kings danger, and that they were also in safe-guard there to remaine, till the matter were (not by the Dukes onely) but also by all the other Lords of the Kings Counsell indifferently examined, and by their discretions ordered, and either judged or appeased. And one thing hee advised them to beware of, that they judged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and provoking men unto anger, and disturbing the Kings Coronation, toward which the Dukes were comming, for that, then might peradventure bring the matter

so farre out of joynt, that it should never bee brought in frame againe, which if it should hap as it were likely to come to a field, though all parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority bee on that side, where the King is himselfe; with these perswasions of the Lord *Hastings*, whereof part hee himselfe beleaved, and of part hee knew well the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But especially, because the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Gloucester* were so neere, and came on so shortly with the King, in no other manner, nor no other voyce or semblance then to his Coronation, causing the same to be blowne about, that such persons as were apprehended, had contrived the destruction of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and of *Buckingham*,
and

and other of the Noble Bloud
of this Realme, to the intent
that they alone would rule and
governe the King. And for
the colour thereof, such of the
Dukes servants as rood with the
Carts of their stuffe which was
taken, among the which stuffe,
no marvell though some were
harnesse, which at the breaking
up of such an household must be
brought away or cast away,
they shewed to the people, and
as they went, said, Lo, here be
the Barrells of harnessse that
these Traytors had privily
conveyed in their carriages to
destroy the Noble Lords with-
all. This divers, (although it
made the matter to wise men
more unlikely) well percei-
ving that the intenders of such
a purpose, would rather have
had their harnessse on their
backes, then to have bound
them up in barrells, yet much

*Edmund
Shaw Ma-
ior of
London.*

part of the common people were therewith right well satisfied.

When the King approached neere the City, *Edmund Shaw* Goldsmith, then Maior of the City, with the Aldermen and Sheriffes in Scarlet, and five hundred commoners in murrey received his Grace reverently at *Harnesay Parke*, and so conveighed him to the City, where hee entred the fourth day of *May*, in the first and last yeere of his Reigne, and was lodged in the Bishop of *Londons* Palace: but the Duke of *Gloucester* bare him in open sight so reverently, saying to all men as he rode, Behold your Prince and Soveraigne Lord, and made such semblance of lowlineffe to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that hee was in so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the

the Councell next assembled, he was made the onely chiefe Ruler, and thought most meet to be Protector of the King and his Realme: so that, were it destiny, or were it folly, the Lambe was betaken to the Wolfe to keepe. At which counsell the Archbishop of *Torke* was fore blamed for delivering the Great Seale to the Queene, and the Seale taken from him, and delivered to Doctor *John Russell* Bishop of *Lincolne*, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and divers Lords and Knights were appointed to divers roomes: the Lord Chamberlaine and some other kept the roomes that they were in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the Protector (which alwayes you must take for the Duke of *Glooucester*) fore thirsted for the

atchieving of his pretended enterprise, and thought every day a yeere till it were performed, yet durst he no farther attempt, as long as hee had but halfe his prey in his hand, well witting that if hee deposed the one brother, all the Realme would fall toth'other, if he remained either in Sanctuary or should haply bee shortly conveyed to his Fathers liberty. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, hee propounded to them, that it was an heinous thing of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice toward the Kings Councillors, that she should keepe the Kings Brother in Sanctuary from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to have his Brother with him, and that to bee done by her to no other intent, but to bring all the Lords in an obloquy

quy and murmure of the people, as though they were not to bee trusted with the Kings Brother, which Lords were by the whole assent of the Nobles of the Realme, appointed as the Kings neere friends, to the tuition of his Royall Person, the prosperity whereof (quoth he) standeth not alone in keeping from enemies and evill dyet, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure, which hee cannot take in his tender youth in the company of old and ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those that be not farre under, nor farre above his age, and nevertheless, of estate convenient to accompany his Majesty, wherefore with whom rather then with his owne Brother? and if any man thinke this consideration light (I thinke no man so thinketh that loveth the King)

King) let him consider, that sometime without small things greater cannot stand, and verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour of the Kings highnesse, and of all us that bee about his Grace, to have it come in any mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but also in other Lands (as evill words walke farre) that the Kings Brother should bee faine to keepe Sanctuary. For every man will judge, that no man will so doe for nought, and such opinions fastned in mens hearts be hard to bee wrested out, and may grow to more grieve then any man here can divine. Wherefore, mee thinketh, it were not the worst to send to the Queene some honorable and trusty personage, such as tendreth the Kings weale and the honour of his Counce, and is also in credit and favour with her;

her; for w^{ch} considerations none seemeth more meetly to me the the reverend Father, my Lord Cardinall, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who may in this matter doe most good of all men, if it please him to take the paine, which I doubt not of his goodnesse hee will not refuse, for the Kings sake & ours, and wealth of the young Duke himselfe, the Kings most honourable Brother, and for the comfort of my Sovereigne Lord himselfe, my most dearest Nephew; considering, that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquy now going abroad, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and then must rest and quietnesse grow to all the Realme. And if shee perhaps be so obstinate, and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wise and faithfull advertisement

Sourcher



ment can move her, nor any mans reason satisfie her, then shall wee by my advice, by the Kings authority fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his Noble presence, in whose continuall company hee shall be so well cherished, and so honourably intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and her reproach, perceive that it was onely malice, frowardnesse and folly, that caused her to keepe him there. This is my minde for this time, except that any of you, my Lords, perceive to the contrary, for never shall I by Gods Grace so wed my selfe unto mine owne will, but I shall bee ready to change it upon your better advices.

When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King
and

and the Duke honourable, and a thing that should cease great murmure in the Realme, if the Mother might by good meanes be induced to deliver him; which thing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they all agreed also to be most convenient thereunto, tooke upon him to move her, and thereto to doe his uttermost endeavor. Howbeit if shee could in no wise be intreated with her good will to deliver him, then thought he and such of the spirituality as were present, that it were not in any wise to bee attempted, to take him out against her will, for it would be a thing that shou'd turne to the grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that place should bee broken, which had so many yeeres been kept, which both Kings and Popes had granted
and

and confirmed, which ground was sanctified by Saint Peter himselfe more then five hundred yeeres agoe. And sith that time, was never so undevout a King, that ever enterprised that sacred priviledge to violate, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume the Church of the same to consecrate: and therefore, quoth the Archbishop, God forbid that any man should, for any earthly enterprise, breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath beene the safeguard of so many a good mans life: but I trust, quoth he, wee shall not need it, but for any manner of need I would we should not doe it, I trust that shee with reason shall bee contented, and all things in good manner obtained. And if it hap that I bring it not to passe, yet shall I further it to
my

my best power, so that you all shall perceive my good will, diligence, and endeavour: But the Mothers dread and womanish feare shall bee the let if any be.

Nay, womanish frowardnesse, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, for I dare take it on my soule, that she well knoweth that shee needeth no such thing to feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon at rest. Howbeit, there is none of her kinne the lesse loved for that they be of her kin, but for their owne evill deserving.

And put the case, that wee neither loved her nor her kin, yet there were no cause why wee should hate the Kings Noble

ble Brother, to whose Grace wee our selves bee kin, whose Honour if shee desired as our dishonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth as to his owne will, shee could be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the King as any of us, if shee had any wit, as would God shee had as good will as shee hath toward wit. For shee thinketh herselfe no wiser then some that are here, of whose faithfull mindes shee nothing doubteth, but verily beleeveth and acknowledgeth, that they would be as sory of his harme as her owne selfe, and yet they would have him from her if shee abide there.

And we all, I thinke, be content that both her children bee with her, if shee came from thence, and abide in such a place where they may be with their honour. Now if shee re-

fuse

Grace in the deliverance of him,
whole to follow the wisdom of
s our them, whose wisdom shee
egard knoweth, whose approbate fi-
delity shee well trusteth; it is
s loth to perceive frowardnesse
from letteth her, and not feare. But
e had goe to, suppose that she feareth
e had (as who may let her to feare
row her owne shadow) the more we
ought to feare to leave him in
that her hands, for if shee cast such
nfull fond doubts that shee feare his
eth hurt, then will she feare that he
ac shall be fetcht thence, for shee
ould will soone thinke, that if men
her were set (which God forbid on
ould so great a mischief) the San-
wide tuary wil little let them, which
Sanctuary good men, as mee
on thinketh, might without sinne
bee somewhat lesse regard then
om they doe.

Now then, if she doubt lest
th he might bee fetched from her,
e- is it not likely that she will send
fe him

Of Sanctuaries.

him somewhere out of the Realme? Verily I looke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as fore mindeth it as wee minde the let thereof. And if shee might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great mastery to doe, we letting her alone, all the world would say, that wee were a sort of wise Counsellors about a King, to let his Brother be call away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my minde, I will rather, mangle her stomack, fetch him away, then leave him there till her feare or fond frowardnesse convey him away, and yet will I breake no Sanctuary, for verily sith the priviledge of that place, and other of that sort, have so long continued, I would not goe about to breake it, but if they were now to begin, I would not be hee should make

the make them; yet will not I say
for nay, but it is a deed of pittie,
not that such men as the chance
h it of the Sea, or their evill debtors
eof have brought into povertie,
ring should have some place of re-
vere fuge to keepe in their bodies
let out of the danger of their cru-
orld ell creditors. And if it fortune
for the Crowne to come in questi-
t a on, as it hath done before this
call time, while each part taketh o-
And ther for Traytors, I thinke it
ith necessary to have a place of re-
ra fuge for both: But as for
tch theeves and murderers, whereof
ere these places be full, and which
rd- never fall from their craft after
and they once fall thereunto, it is
ry, pittie that every Sanctuary
e of should serve them, and especi-
hat ally wilfull murtherers, whom
d, I God commandeth to bee taken
ake from the Altar, and to bee put
be- to death. And where it is o-
uld therwise then in these cases,
ke there

there is no need of Sanctuaries appointed by God in the Old Law. For if necessity of his owne defence, or misfortune drived him to that deed, then pardon serveth him, which either is granted of course, or the King of pittie and compassion giveth.

Now looke how few Sanctuaries men there be, whom necessity or misfortune compelled to goe thither: And then see on the other side, what sort there be commonly therein of such, whom wilfull unthriftinesse hath brought to naught; What a rabble of Theeves, Murtherers and malicious hainous Traytors be, and that in two places especially, the one at the elbow of the Citie, and the other in the very bowels, I dare well avow it, if you weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that com-

meth

meth of them, yee shall finde it
much better to lose both then
to have both. And this, I say;
although they were not abused,
(as they now bee and so long
have been) that I feare me ever
they will be while men be a-
fraid to set their hands to the
amendment, as though God
and Saint Peter were the Pa-
trons of ungracious living.
Now unthrifts riot and run in
debt upon boldnesse of these
places; yea, and rich men run
thither with poor mens goods,
there they build, there they
spend and bid their creditors
goe whistle. Mens Wives run
thither with their Husbands
Plate, and say they dare not a-
bide with their Husbands for
beating; Theeves bring thi-
ther stolne goods, and live
thereon. There devise they
new robberies nightly, and
steale out and rob, rive, and kill
men

men, and come again into those places, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harme that they have done, but a license also to doe more mischief: howbeit, much of this great abusio[n], (if wise men would set their hands thereunto) might be amended, with great thankes of God and no breache of the priviledge. The conclusion is, sith it is so long agoe, I wot not what Pope and what Prince, more pitious than politicke, hath granted it, and other men sensible of a religious feare, have not broken it: let us take paines with it, and let it stand a Gods Name in his force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not so farre forth as may serve to let us of the fetching forth of this Noble man to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in the which he neither is nor can be a Sanctu

ary or priviledged man. A Sanctuary ever serveth to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but of lawfull hurt; for against unlawfull hurts and harmes, no Pope nor King intended to privilege any one place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to doe another man wrong. That no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh in that regard, for every man, every place a Sanctuary; but whereas man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall privilege, which is the onely ground of all Sanctuaries, from which necessity this Noble Prince is farre, whose love to his King, Nature and kindred proveth, whose innocencie to all the
E world,

world, his tender youth affir-
meth, and so Sanctuary as for
him is not necessary, and none
he can have. Men come not to
Sanctuary, as they come to
Baptisme, to require it by God-
fathers, he must aske it himselfe
that must have it, and reason, since
no man hath cause to have it,
but whose conscience of his own
fault maketh him have need to
require it. What will then haile
yonder Babe, which if hee had
discretion to require it, if need
were, I dare say would be now
right angry with them that
keep him there? And I would
thinke without any scruple of
conscience, without any breach
of priviledge, to bee somewhat
more homely with them that
be their Sanctuary men indeed,
that if one goe to Sanctuary
with another mans goods, why
should not the King, leaving
his body at liberty, satisfie the
party

party of his goods even within the Sanctuary; for neither King nor Pope can give any place such a priviledge, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay.

And with that, divers of the Clergy that were there present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainly by the Law of God and of the Church, that a Sanctuary man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reserved to him, to get his living by the labour of his hands. Verily, quoth the Duke, I thinke ye say very truth: And what if a mans wife take Sanctuary, because shee list to run from her husband? I would thinke, if she can alledge no other cause, shee may lawfully, without any displeasure done to Saint Pe-

ter, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may bee taken out of Sanctuary, because he saith hee will abide there, then if a child will take Sanctuary, because he feareth to goe to Schoole, his Master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it; for there, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verily I have heard of Sanctuary men, but I never heard before of Sanctuary children; and therefore, as for the conclusion of my minde, whosoever may deserve to have need of it, if they thinke it for their surety, let them keepe it, but he can be no Sanctuary man, that hath no other discretion to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose life nor liberty can

can by any lawful processe stand in danger : and hee that taketh one out of Sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly hee breake-
th no Sanctuary.

When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and the most part of the spirituall men also, thinking no hurt earthly meant toward the yong Babe, condescend in effect, that if hee were not delivered hee should be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it best in avoiding of all manner of rumour, that the Cardinall should first assay, to get him with her good will. And thereupon all the Councell came to the Star-Chamber at *Westminster*, and the Cardinall leaving the Protector and other Lords in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queen, accompanied with certaine Lords, were it for the respect

of his honour, or that she should by the persons of so many, perceiue that his errand was not onely one mans minde, or were it for that the Protector intended not in this matter to trust one man alone, or else if she finally were determined to keepe him, some of the company had peradventure some secret instruction incontinent, mauger her will, to take him, and to leave her no respite to conueigh him.

When the Queene and these Lords were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed unto her, that it was thought to the Lord Protectour and the whole Councell, that her keeping of the Kings Brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people, and their obloquy, but also to the importable grieue and displeasure of the Kings Royall Majesty,

Majesty, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort to have his naturall Brother in company, and it was to both their dishonours, and hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one Brother stood in danger and perill of the other. And hee shewed her farther, that the whole Councell had sent him to require of her the delivery of him, that hee might bee brought to the Kings presence at his liberty out of that place, which men reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, and she in this doing, should both do great good to the Realme, pleasure to the Councell, profit to her selfe, succour to her friends that were in distresse, and over that, which he knew well shee specially tendered, not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but

also to the young Duke himselfe, both whose great weale it were to be together, aswel for many greater causes, as also for both their disport and recreation, which things the Lords esteemed not light, though it seemed light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of both their ages and estates so meet in that point for any of them, as the either of them for the other.

My Lord (quoth the Queen) I say not nay, but that it were very convenient that this Gentleman whom you require were in the company of the King his Brother, and in good faith, me thinketh it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet a while to be in the custody of their Mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them

them both, but especially the younger, which besides his infancie, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while beene so fore diseased with sicknesse, and is so newly, rather little amended then well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onely, considering there is, as Physicians say, and as wee also finde, double the perill in the resiliuation that was in the first sicknesse, with which disease Nature being sore laboured, forewearied and weakned, waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfeit. And albeit there might bee found other that would haply doe their best unto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him then I, that so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him, then his owne Mo-

ther that bare him. No man denyeth, good Madame, quoth the Cardinall, that your Grace of all folke were most necessary about your children, and so would all the Councell, not onely be content, but also glad that it were, if it might stand with your pleasure, to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you appoint your selfe to tarry here, then thinke they it more convenient, the Duke of *Yerke* were with the King honourably at his liberty to the comfort of them both, then here as a Sanctuary man to both their dishonors and obloquy, sith there is not alway so great necessity to have the child with the Mother, but that occasion sometime may be such, that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere, which in this well appeareth, that at such time that

that your most dearest sonne
then Prince and now King,
should for his honour and good
order of the Country keepe
houehold in *Wales* farre out of
your keeping, your Grace was
well content therewith your
selfe. Not very well content
(quoth the *Queene*) and yet
the case is not like, for the one
was then in health, the other is
now sicke, in which case I mar-
vell greatly why my Lord Pro-
tector is so desirous to have him
in keeping, where if the childe
in his sicknesse miscaried by
nature, yet might hee run into
slander and suspition of fraud.
And they call it a thing so fore
against my childe's honour and
theirs also, that hee abideth in
this place, it is all their ho-
nours, there to suffer his abode,
where no man doubteth he shall
be best kept, and that is heere
while I am here, which as yet
intend

intend not to come forth and danger my selfe after other my friends, which would God were rather here in surety with me, then I were there in danger with them.

Why Madame (quoth the Lord *Howard*) know you any thing, why they should bee in danger? Nay verily (quoth she) nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be, but I trow it is no great marvell, though I feare lest those that have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The Cardinall made a countenance to the Lord *Howard*, that he should harpe no more upon that string; and then said hee to the Queene, that he nothing doubted, but those Lords of her kinne, the which remained under arrest, should upon the
matter

matter examined doe well enough, and as toward her Noble person, neither was, nor could be any manner of danger.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the Queene) in that I am guiltlesse, as though they were guilty, in that I am with their enemies better beloved then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere to the King, and how farre be they off that would helpe, as God send Grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not to depart hence : As for this Gentleman, my son, I minde he shall bee where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy without any substantiall cause to have him, which maketh mee much more warie and scrupulous to deliver him.

Truly Madame (quoth the Cardi-

Cardinall) the further that yee bee to deliver him, the further be other men to suffer you to keepe him, lest your causelesse feare might cause you farther to conveigh him, and many thinke he can here have no privilege, which can have neither will to aske it, nor yet malice or offence to need it. And therefore, they reckon no privilege broken, although they fetch him out of Sanctuary, which if you finally refuse to deliver him, I thinke verily the Councell will enfranchise him, so much dread hath my Lord his Uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your Grace should send him away.

Ah, quoth the Queene, hath hee so tender a zeale to him, that hee feareth nothing, but lest hee should escape him? Thinketh hee, that I would send him hence, which is neither

ther in the plight to send out ?
and in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this Sanctuary ? whereof was there never Tyrant yet so devillish, that durst attempt to breake the priviledge, and I trust God is now as strong to withstand his adversaries as ever he was. But my sonne can deserve no Sanctuary, you say, and therefore hee can not have it, forsooth the Lord Protector hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that may defend a theefe, may not save an innocent : but he is in no danger, nor hath no need thereof, I would God hee had not. Troweth the Protector, (I pray God he may prove a Protector, rather then a destroyer, whereunto his painted processe draweth) that it is not honourable that the Duke bide here ? it were more comfortable to them

them both, that he were with his Brother, because the King lacketh a play-fellow, yea be sure, I pray God send him better play-fellowes then him that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext, as though there could none bee found to play with the King, but that his Brother, w^{ch} hath no lust to play for sicknesse, must come out of Sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him; as though that Princes so young as they be, could not play without their Peeres, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the most part they agree much worse then with strangers. But the childe, you say, cannot require the privilege, who told the Protector so? Aske him, and you shall heare him aske it, and so shall hee, if yee will. Howbeit, this

is a strange matter; suppose hee could not aske it, and thinke he would not aske it, and imagine he would aske to goe out, if I say he shall not: Note, if I aske the priviledge for my selfe, I say, that hee that against my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person onely, or for my goods too? you may not from hence take my Horse from me, if I stale him not nor owe you nothing: then followeth it, that you may not take my childe from me, hee is also my ward, for as farre as my learned Councell sheweth me, he hath nothing by descent holden by Knights service, but by socage: then the Law maketh me his guardian, then may no man lawfully (I suppose) take my ward from mee out of this place, without the breach of Sanctuary, and if my priviledge

ledge could not serve him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the Law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him, except the Law give the Infant a guardian onely for his goods, discharging him of the care and safe-keeping of his body, for which onely both goods and lands serve: Wherefore here intend I to keep him, sith mans Law serveth the guardian to keepe the infant, and the Law of Nature willeth the Mother to keep the child, and Gods Law priviledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary priviledgeth my Sonne, sith I feare to put him to the Protectors hands, that hath his Brother already; which is. (if both failed.) inheritor to the Crowne as heire Male, as hee saith. The cause of my feare no man hath to doe to examine, and yet feare I no further
then

then the Law feareth, which as learned men tell mee, forbiddeth every man the custody of them, by whose death he may inherit lesse Land then a Kingdome.

I can say no more, but whosoever hee be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God send him shortly need of Sanctuary, when he may not come to it, for I would not that my mortall enemy should be taken out of Sanctuary.

The Cardinall perceived that the Queene ever the longer the farther off, and also that shee began to kindle and chafe, and speak fore biting words against the Protector, and such as hee neither beleevved, and also was loth to heare, he said to her, for a finall conclusion, that hee would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliver the Duke to him and
to



to the other Lords there present, hee durst lay his owne body and soule both in pledge, not onely for his surety, but also for his estate, and surely he knew nor suspected any cause but he might so doe (but hee knew not all.) And further he said, if shee would give him a resolute answer to the contrary, hee would therewith depart incontinent, and shift who so would with his businesse afterward, for he never intended further to move her in the matter, in the which shee thought that he and all other also, save her selfe, lacked either wit or dull truth; Wit, if they were so that they nothing could perceive what the Protector intended, and if they should procure her sonne to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive towards the child any evill will intended, then shee might

might thinke all the Councell
both evill advised, and of little
fidelity to their Prince.

The Queene with these
words stood in a great study,
and forasmuch as she saw the
Lord Cardinall more readie
to depart then the remnant,
and the Protector himselfe rea-
dy at hand, so that shee verily
thought that shee could not
keepe him there, but he should
bee incontinent taken thence,
and to conveigh him elsewhere,
neither had shee time to serve
her, nor place determined, nor
persons appointed to conveigh
him, and so all things were un-
ready, when this message came
so suddenly on her, nothing
lesse looking for, then to have
him out of Sanctuary, which
she knew now men to be set in
all places about, that hee could
not be conveighed out untaken,
and party as shee thought it
might

might fortune her feare to bee false: so well shee knew it was either needlesse or bootlesse. Wherefore, if shee should needs goe from him, shee deemed best to deliver him, and especially of the Cardinals faith shee nothing doubting, nor of some other Lords whom shee saw there, which as she feared lest they might be deceived, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see his surety, if shee with her owne hands betooke him them by trust, and at the last she tooke the young Duke by the hand, and said unto the Lords, my Lord (quoth shee) and all my Lords, neither am I so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of the which thing

thing I purpose to make such a
prooffe, that if either of both
lacked in you, might turn both
me to great sorrow, the Realm
to much harme, and you to
great reproach. For loe, here
is, quoth shee, this Gentleman,
whom I doubt not, but I could
keepe safe if I would, whatsoe-
ver any man say, and I doubt
not also, but there be some a-
broad so deadly enemies unto
my Bloud, that if they knew
where any of it lay in their
owne body, they would let it
out: wee have also experience,
that the desire of a Kingdome
knoweth no kindred, the Bro-
ther hath beene the Brothers
bane, and may the Nephewes
be sure of the Uncle? each of
these children are others de-
fence, while they be asunder,
and each of their lives lyeth in
others body, keepe one safe and
both be sure, and nothing to
both

both more perilous then both to be in one place: for a wise Merchant never adventureth all his goods in one Ship. All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him and his Brother in him, to keepe to your hands, of whom I shall aske them both before God and the world, Faithfull you be, and that I know well, and I know you be wise, and of power and strength if you list to keepe him, for you lacke no helpe of your selves, nor need to lacke no helpe in this case, and if you cannot else-where, then may you leave him here: But onely one thing I beseech you, for the trust that his Father put you in ever, and for the trust I put you in now, that as far as you thinke that I feare too much, yee bee well ware that you feare not too little. And therewithall she said to the Childe, Farewell mine

owne sweet Sonne, God send
you good keeping, let me once
kisse you ere you goe, for God
knoweth when we shall kisse to-
gether againe, and therewith
he kissed him, and blessed him,
and turned her backe and wept,
going her way, leaving the
poore innocent childe weeping
as fast as the Mother.

When the Cardinall and the
other Lords had received the
young Duke, they brought him
into the Star-Chamber, where
the Protector tooke him into
his armes, and kissed him with
these words; now welcome my
Lord with all my very heart,
and hee said in that of likeli-
hood even as hee inwardly
thought, and thereupon forth-
with brought him to the King
his Brother into the Bishops
Palace at *Pauls*, and from
thence through the Citie hono-
rably into the Tower, out of
F which

which after that day they never came abroad. When the Protector had both the children in his possession, yea and that they were in a sure place, he then began to thirst to see the end of his enterprife. And to avoid all suspicion, hee caused all the Lords which hee knew to be faithfull to the King, to assemble at *Baynards Castle*, to commune of the order of the Coronation, while he and other of his complices and of his affinity, at *Crosbie Place*, contrived the contrary, and to make the Protector King; to which Councell there were adhibited very few, and they very secret.

Then began here and there some muttering amongst the people, as though all things should not long be well, though they knew not what they feared, nor wherefore: were it

that before such great things,
mens hearts (of a secret instinct
of Nature) might give them, as
the South wind sometime swel-
leth of it selfe before a Tem-
pest: or were it that some one
man haply somewhat percei-
ving, filled many men with su-
spicion, though hee shewed few
men what he knew: howbeit,
the dealing it selfe made men to
muse on the matter, though the
Council were close, for by little
and litt'e all folke drew from
the Tower where the King was,
and drew to *Crosbies Place*, so
that the Protector had all the
resort, & the King was in man-
ner desolate. While some made
suit unto them that had the do-
ing, some of them were by their
friends secretly warned, that it
might haply turn to no good to
them, to be too much attendant
on the King without the Pro-
tectors appointment, which

removed diuerse of the kings
old seruants from him, and
set new in their places about
him.

Thus many thinges com-
ming together, partly : by
chance, and partly by purpose,
caused at length, not common
people onely, which waue
with the wind, but wise men
also and some Lords to marke
the matter and muse therupon:
insomuch that the Lord *Stan-*
ley, which afterward was Earle
of *Derby*, wisely mistrusted it,
and said to the Lord *Hastings*,
that he much misliked these two
severall Councels: for while we,
quoth he, talke of one matter
at the one place, little know
we whereof they talke in the
other: peace, my Lord, quoth
the Lord *Hastings*; on my life,
never doubt you, for while one
man is there, which is never
thence, neither can there bee a-
ny

ny thing once minded that
should sound amisse towards
me, but it should be in my eares
as soone as out of their mouths.
This hee meant by *Catesby*,
which was neere of his seeret
counsell, and whom hee most
familiarily used in his weighty
matters, putting no man in so
speciall trust as hee, reckoning
himselſe to bee beloved of no
man more then he; knowing
well that there was no man so
much beholding to him as was
this *Catesby*, which was a man
well learned in the lawes of this
Realme, and by the speciall
favour of the Lord *Hastings* in
good authority, and bore
much rule in the countries of
Leicester & Northampton, where
the Lord *Hastings* power lay.
But surely great pittie was it
that he had not more thruth or
lesse wit, for his dissimulation
onely, kept all that mischief
F 3 up,

up, in whom if the Lord *Hastings* had not put so speciall trust, the L. *Stanley* and he, with divers other Lords, had departed into their countries and broken all the dance, for many evill signes that hee saw, which hee now constructed all for the best; so surely thought he that there could be no harme intended towards him in that coun-
cill where *Catesby* was. And of truth the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* did seeme to shew very much countenance unto the Lord *Hastings*, and kept him often in their company. And undoubtedly the Protector loved him well, and loth he was to have lost him, saving for feare lest his life should have quailed their purpose; for the which cause hee moved *Catesby* to prove with some words cast out a farre off, whether hee could thinke it possible
to

to winne the Lord *Hastings* to their part. But *Catesby*, whether hee assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto him that hee found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake unto him: and of a truth the Lord *Hastings* of very trust shewed unto *Catesby* the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore he fearing least their motions might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credit, whereunto onely all the matter leaned; procured the Protectour hastily to rid him, and much the rather, for he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule which the Lord *Hastings* bare in his countrey; the onely desire whereof, was the the thing that induced him to bee procurer, and one of the speciallest contrivers of all this horri-

ble treason. Whereupon the Lord Protector caused a Councill to bee set at the Tower on the friday the thirteenth day *June*, where was much communing for the honorable solemnitie of the Coronation, of the which the time appointed approached so neare, that the Pageants were amaking day and night at *Westminster*, and vi-
tailes killed, which afterwards was cast away.

These Lords thus sitting communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them about nine of the clocke, saluting them curteously, excusing himselfe that hee had beene from them so long, saying merrily that he had beene a sleepe that day. And after a little talking with them, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*, my Lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden at *Holbourne*, I
require

require you let us have a messe
of them. Gladly (my Lord,
quoth he) I would I had some
better thing as ready at your
pleasure as that, and with that
in all hast he sent his servant for
a dish of Strawberies. The Pro-
tectour set the Lords fast on
communings, and thereupon
prayed them to spare him a lit-
tle, and so he departed and came
again between ten and eleven
of the clocke into the chamber,
all changed with a fowre angry
countenance, knitting the
browes, frowning and fretting,
gnawing of his lips and so set
him downe in his place. All the
Lords were dismayed, and fore
marvelled at this manner and
suddaine change, what hee
should ayle. When he had sit-
ten a while, thus hee began:
What were they worthy to
have, that compasse and imagine
the destruction of mee being so

neare of blood to the King and Protector of this his Royall Realme. At which question, all the Lords sate fore astonied, musing much by whom the question should bee meant, of which every man knew himself cleere.

Then the Lord *Hastings*, who for the familiarity that was betweene them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthe to be punished as haynous traytors whatsoever they were, and all the other affirmed the same: that is (quoth he) yonder Sorceresse, my brothers wife, & others with her, meaning the Queene: at these words many of the Lords were sore abashed, which favored her, but the Lord *Hastings* was better content in his minde, that it was moved by her, then by any other that hee loved better, albeit his heart grudged

grudged that hee was not afor^e
made of the counsell of thi^s
matter, as well as hee was of th^e
taking of her kindred, and of
their putting to death, which
were by his assent before devi-
sed to be beheaded at *Pomfret*,
this self same day, in the which
he was not aware that it was
by others devised, that he him-
selfe should the same day be be-
headed at *London*: then said the
Protectour, See in what wise
that Sorceresse, and others of
her counsell, as *Shores* wife
with her affinitie, have by their
sorcery and witchcraft thus
wasted my body: and therewith
plucked up his doublet sleeve
to his elbow on his left arme,
where hee shewed a werish wi-
thered arme, and small, as it was
never other. And therefor eve-
ry mans minde misgave them;
well perceiving that this mat-
ter was but a quarrell; for
they

they knew that the *Queene* was both too wise to goe about any such folly, & also if she would, yet she would not make *Shores* wife of her counsell, whom of al women she most hated, as that concubine whom the King her husband most loved.

Also, there was no man there but knew that his arme was ever such since the day of his birth : Neverthelesse the Lord *Hastings*, which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the Kings life, saving it is said that he forbare her for reverence towards his King, or else of a certaine kind of fidelity towards his friend; Yet now his heart somewhat grudged to have her whom hee loved so highly accused, and as he knew well, untruly; therefore he answered and said, certainly my Lord, if they have
fo

so done; they bee worthy of
haynous punishment. What,
quoth the Protector, thou ser-
vest mee, I thinke, with if and
with and, I tell thee they have
done it, and that I will make
it good on thy body, traytor.
And therewith (as in a great
anger) he strooke his fist on the
boord a great rappe; at which
token given, one cryed treason
without the chamber, and ther-
with a doore clapped, and men
in armes came rushing in, as
many as the chamber could
hold. And anone the Protector
said to the Lord *Hastings*, I ar-
rest thee Traytour: what me my
Lord, quoth he? yes thou Tray-
tour, quoth the Protector. And
one let fly at the Lord *Stanley*,
who shrunke at the stroke, and
fell under the Table, or else his
head had been cleft to the teeth,
for as suddenly as he shrunk, yet
the blood ran about his eares.

Then

Then was the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and Doctour *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley* and divers others taken, and bestowed in severall chambers, save the Lord *Hastings* (whom the Protector commanded to speede and shrive him apace) for by Saint *Paul* (quoth he) I will not dine till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heavily hee tooke a Priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much hast to his dinner, who might not goe to it till this murther were done, for saving of his ungratious oath. So was hee brought forth into the greene besides the Chappell within the Tower, and his head layed downe on a logge of timber that lay there for building of the Chappell, and there tyr-

ran-

rannously stricken off; and after his body and head were entered at *Wind/or* by his Master King *Edward* the fourth, Late deceased.

A miraculous case it is to heare, either the warnings that he should have avoyded, or the tokens of that hee could not avoid. For the next night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for hee was disposed utterly no longer for to abide, for he had a fearefull dreame in the which hee thought that a Bore with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders; and for asmuch as the Protectour gave the Bore for his cognisance, hee imagined that it should be he. This dreame made such a fearefull
im-

impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him. So that they would ride so farre that night, that they should bee out of danger by the next day. A good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) to the messenger, leaneth my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath hee such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or doe rise in the nights rest by reason of the daies thought? Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleeve in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh hee not that wee might as likely make them true by our going if we were caught and brought backe, (as friends flyors) for then had the bore a cause likely to rase us with his tuskes,

tuskes, as folkes that fled for
some falshood: wherfore either
there is perill, but indeed there
is none, or if any be, it is rather
in going then abiding. And if
wee must needes fall into perill
oneway or other, yet had I
rather that men should see it
were by other mens falshood,
then thinke it were either our
owne fault or faint feeble heart,
and therefore goe to thy Mai-
ster and commend me to him,
and tell him I pray him to bee
merry and have no feare, for I
assure him, I am assured of the
man he wotteth of, as I am sure
of mine owne hand. God send
grace (quoth the messenger)
and so departed. Certaine it is
also, that in riding towards the
Tower the same morning in
which he was beheaded, his
horse that hee accustomed to
ride on, stumbled twice or
thrice almost to the falling,
which

which thing although it hap-
peneth to them daily to whom
no mischance is towards, yet
hath it beene as an old evill to-
ken observed as a going toward
mischiefe. Now this that fol-
loweth was no warning, but an
envious scorne: the same mor-
ning before he was up from his
bed, where *Shores* wife lay
with him all night, there came
to him sir *Thomas Haward* son
to the Lord *Haward* (which
Lord was once of the priviest of
the Lord Protectours counsell
and doing) as it were of curte-
sie to accompany him to the
councell, but of truth sent by
the Lord Protectour to haile
him thitherward.

This sir *Thomas*, while the
Lord *Hastings* stayed a while
commoning with a Priest who
he met in *Towerstreete*, brake
the Lords tale, saying to him
merrily, what my Lord I pray
you

you come on, wherefore talke
you so long with that Priest,
you have no neede of a Priest
yet, and laughed upon him, as
though he would say, you shall
have neede of one soone: But
little thought the other what
hee meant (but before night
thesewords were well remem-
bered by them that heard them)
so the true Lord *Hastings* little
mistrusted, and was never meri-
er, nor thought his life in more
suretie in all his dayes, which
thing is often a signe of change:
but I shall rather let any thing
passe mee then the vaine surety
of mans minde so neere his
death; for upon the very *Tow-
erwharfe*, so neere the place
where his head was off so soone
after, as a man might cast a ball,
a Pursieuant of his owne called
Hastings met with him; and of
their meeting in that place hee
was put in remembrance a-
nother

nother time, in which it happened them to meete before together in the place, at which time the Lord *Hastings* had been accused to King *Edward* by the Lord *Rivers* the Queenes brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the Kings indignation, as hee now met the same Pursevant in the same place, the jeoperdie so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter and therefore he said; Ah *Hastings*, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heaue heart? Yea my Lord (quoth he) that I remember well, and thanks bee to God they got no good, nor you harme thereby; thou wouldest say so (quoth hee) if thou knewest so much as I do, which few know yet, and more shall shortly

shortly, that meant he that the Earle Rivers, and the Lord Richard, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, should that day be beheaded at Bamfret, as they were indeed, which act he knew well should be done, but thought not that the Axe hung so neere his owne head.

In faith man, (quoth hee) I was never so sory, nor never stood in so great danger of my life, as I did when thou and I met here, and loe the world is turned now, now stand mine enemies in the danger, as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter, and I never in my life merrier, nor never in so great surety. I pray God it prove so (quoth Hastings) prove, quoth he? doubttest thou that) nay, nay, I warrant thee; and so in manner displeased, hee entred into the Tower, where he was not long alive, as you have heard.

heard. O Lord God, the blindness of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in most surety, and when he reckoned himselfe most sure, hee lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemy, and sure and secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as hee that of good heart and courage foresaw no perils, a loving man and passing well beloved, very faithfull, and trusty enough, but trusting too much was his destruction, as you may perceive.

Now flew the fame of this Lords death through the City, and farther about, like a wind in every mans care: but the Protector immediately after dinner

dinner (intending to set some colour upon the matter) sent in all the haste for many substantiall men out of the City into the Tower, and at their comming, himselfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in old ill favoured Briganders, such as no man would thinke that they would have vouchsafed to have put on their backes, except some sodaine necessity had constrained them. Then the Lord Protector shewed them, that the Lord *Hastings* and other of his conspiracie, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the Duke of *Buckingham* there the same day in Councel, and what they intended farther, was yet not well known, of which their treason hee had never knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoone, which sodaine feare drave them
to

to put on such harnesse as came next to their hands for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischief turned upon them that would have done it, and thus he required them to report. Every man answered faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleaved. Yet for the further appealing of the peoples mindes, he sent immediately after dinner an Herald of Armes with a Proclamation through the Citarie of *London*, which was proclaimed in the Kings Name, that the Lord *Hastings*, with divers other of his trayterous purpose, had before conspired, the same day, to have slaine the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, sitting in Councell; and after to have taken upon them the rule of the King and the Realme at their pleasure,

sure, and thereby to pill and
spoil whom they list uncon-
trouled, and much matter was
devised in the same Procla-
mation to the slander of the Lord
Hastings, as that he was an e-
vill Councillor to the Kings
Father, enticing him to many
things highly redounding to
the diminishing of his honour,
and to the universall hurt of his
Realme, by his evill company,
and sinister procuring, and un-
gracious example, aswell in
many other things, as in viti-
ous living, and inordinate a-
busing of his body, both with
many other, and especially
with *Shores* wife, which was
one of his secret Councell in
this heinous treason, with
whom hee lay nightly, and
namely the night passed next
before his death, so that it was
the lesse marvell, if ungracious
living brought him to an un-
G happy

happy end, which he was now put to by the command of the Kings Highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull Council, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his false contrived treason, and also lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselves together in making so great commotion for his deliverance, whose hope now, being by his well deserved death politickly repressed, all the Realme shall by Gods grace rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after hee was beheaded, and it was curiously indited, and so faithfully written in Parchment in a faire set hand, and therewith so large a proceffe, that every child might

might perceive that it was prepared and studied before, and (as some men thought) by *Catesby*, for all the time betweene his death and the publishing of the Proclamation could scarce have sufficed to the bare writing of it alone, albeit that it had beene in paper, and scribbled forth in hast at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schcol-master at *Pauls* standing by, and comparing the shortenesse of the time with the length of the matter, said to them that stood about him: here is a gay goodly cast, fouly cast away for haste. And a Merchant that stood by him, said, that it was written by inspiration and prophesie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, and not for covetousnesse, the Protector sent Sir *Thomas Howard* to the house of *Shores wife* (for her

Husband dwelt not with her) which spoyled her of all that ever she had, above the value of two or three thousand Markes, and sent her body to prison. And the Protector had laid to her for the manner sake, that shee was of Councell with the Lord *Hastings* to destroy him. In conclusion, when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he layed heinously to her charge that thing that shee could not deny, for all the world knew that it was true, and that notwithstanding every man laughed to heare it then so suddenly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her body. And for this cause, as a godly continent Prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselte, sent out of Heaven into this vicious world, for the amendment of mens manners, hee caused the Bishop of *London* to put her to open

open penance, going before a
crosse one Sunday at procession
with a taper in her hand. In the
which she went in countenance
and pace so womanly, and al-
beit she was out of all array sa-
ving her kirtle onely, yet went
shee so faire and lovely, and
namely when the wondering of
the people cast a comly red in
her cheekes, of the which be-
fore she had most misse, that her
great shame woon her much
praise amongst them that were
more amorous of her body, the
curious of her soule: and many
good folk that hated her living
and were glad to see sinne cor-
rected, yet pittied they more her
penance then rejoyced at it; whē
they considered that the Pro-
tectour did it more of a corrupt
minde then any vertuous af-
fection.

This woman was borne in
London, well friended, honestly
G 3 brought

The dis-
cription
of *Shores*
wife.

brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon, her husband an honest and a young Citizen, godly and of good substance, but forasmuch as they were coupled before she was well ripe, shee not very fervently loved for whom shee never longed, which was the thing (by chance) that the more easily made her to incline to the Kings appetite, when hee required her. Howbeit the respect of his royaltie, the hope of gaine, apparrell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart: but when the King had abused her, anon her husband being an honest man would not presume to touch a Kings concubine, but left her up to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord *Hastings* tooke her, which in the Kings dayes, albeit that he was fore enamored

red with her yet hee forbare,
either for a princely reverence,
or for a certaine friendly
faichfulnesse. Proper shee was
and faire, nothing in her body
that you could have changed,
but if you would have wished
her somewhat higher. This
say they that knew her in her
youth, some said and judged
that she had beene well favored,
and some judged the contrary,
whose judgement seemeth like
as men gesse the beauty of one
long before departed, by a
shape taken out of a charnell
house, and this judgement was
in the time of King *Henry* the
eight, in the eighteenth yeare
of whose reigne she dyed, when
she had nothing but a rivelled
skin & bone. Her beauty pleased
not men so much as her plea-
sant behaviour, for shee had a
proper wit, and could both
reade and write, merry in

The description
of King
Edwards
three
Concu-
bines.

company, ready and quicke of answer, neither mute nor full of bable, sometimes taunting without displeasure, but not without disport. King *Edward* would say he had three concubines, which in divers properties diversly excelled, one the merriest, the other the wisest, the third the holiest harlot in the Realme, as one, whom no man could get out of the Church to any place lightly, unlesse it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then *Mistris Shore*, and yet nevertheless of their humilitie were content to bee namelesse, and to forbear the praise of these properties. But the merriest was *Shores* wife, in whom the King therefore tooke great pleasure, for many he had, but her hee loved, whose favour to say the truth (for it were sinne to belie the devill) she never abused

used to any mans hurt, but to many mens comfort and reliefe. For where the King tooke displeasure, shee would mitigate and appease his minde, where men were out of favour, shee would bring them into his grace, for many that had highly offended, shee obtained pardon, and of great forfeitures shee gate remission, and finally in many weighty suites shee stood many men in great stead, either for none or for very small reward: and those rather gay then rich, either that shee was content with the deede well done, or for that shee delighted to bee sued unto, and to shew what shee was able to doe with the King, or for that that wanton women and wealthy be not alwaies covetous. I doubt not some men will thinke this woman to be too slight to be written of among giave and weigh-

ty matters, which they shall specially thinke that happily saw her in her age and adversity, but we thinke the chance so much more worthy to bee remembered, in how much after wealth she fell to poverty, and from riches to beggery, unfriended, out of acquaintance, after great substance, after so great favour with her Prince, after as great suite and seeking to with all those which in those dayes had businesse to speed, as many other men were in their times, which bee now famous only by the infamy of their evill deedes, her doings were not much lesse, albeit they be much lesse remembered, because they were not evill, for men use to write an evill turne in marble stone, but a good turne in the dust; which is not worst proved by her, for after her wealth she went begging of many that had

had begged themselves if shee had not hope them, such was her chance.

Now was it devised by the Protector and his Councill, that the same day that the Lord Chamberlain was headed in the Tower of *London*, and about the same houre, should be beheaded at *Pomfret* the Earle *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard* the Queenes sonne, sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and sir *Richard Haute*, which as you heard were taken at *Northampton* and *Stony stratford* by the consent of the Lord *Hastings*; which execution was done by the order and in the presence of sir *Richard Ratclif* knight, whose service the Protector specially used in the Councill, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had beene long secret with him, having experience of the world, a notable wit, short
and

and rude in speech, rough and boysterous of behaviour, bold in mischiefe, and as farre from pittie as from all feare of God.

This Knight brought these foure persons to the Scaffold at the day appointed, and shewed to all the people that. they were Traitors, not suffering the Lords to speake, and to declare their innocency, lest their words might have inclined men to pittie them, and to hate the Protectour and his part, and so without judgement and processe of the Law caused them to bee beheaded without other earthly guilt, but onely they were good men, and true to the King, & too nie to the Queene; insomuch that sir *Thomas Vaughan* going to his death said; A mischeife take them that tooke the prophesie that *G.* should destroy King *Edwards* children, for *George Duke of Clarence,*

Clarence, Lord *George*, which for that suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth *Richard G. Duke of Gloucester*, which now I see is he that shall and will accomplish the Prophecie, and destroy King *Edwards* children, and all their allies and friends, as it appeareth by us this day; whom I appeale to the high tribunall of God for his wrongfull murther, and our true innocency. And then *Ratcliffe* said, you have well appealed, lay downe your head, yea quoth sir *Thomas*, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good Knight was beheaded, and the other three, and buried naked in the Monasterie at *Pomfret*.

When the Lord *Hastings* and those other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then the Protector caused it to bee proclaimed

claimed that the Coronation for divers great and urgent causes should bee deferred till the second day of *November*, for then thought he, that while men mused what the matter meant, and whiles the Lords of the Realme were about him, out of their owne strengths, and while no man knew what to thinke, nor whom to trust, or whether they should have time or space to digest the matter, and make parts; it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crowne, before men could have time to devise any waies to resist. But now was all the studie, how this matter, being of it selfe so haynous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might bee well taken.

To this councell they tooke divers, such as they thought
meet

meet to be trusted, and likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or by policie. Among whom, they made of Councell *Edmond Shaw* then Mayor of *London*, which upon trust of his owne advancement, where he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, tooke upon him to frame the Citty to their appetite. Of Spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authority amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulus conscience. Amongst these had, they tooke *Ralph Shaw* cleрке, brother to the Mayor, and Frier *Pinkie*, provincially of the *Augustin* Friers, both Doctors in Divinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. For they were before

fore greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, never none of those two were regarded. *Shaw* made a Sermon in praise of the Protectour before the Coronation, and *Pynkie* made one after the Cornation, both so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans cares could abide them: *Pynkie* in his Sermon so lost his vocye, that hee was faine to leave off and come downe in the midst: Doctor *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into the which he durst never after much come abroad: but the Frier feared no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pynkie* was not of Councell before the Coronation, but after the common manner fell to flattery after; namely, because his Sermon was not
in-

incontinent upon it, but at S.
Mary Spittle the Easter after.
But certaine it is, that Doctor
Shaw was of Councell in the
beginning in so much that they
determined that hee should first
breake the matter in a Sermon
at *Paules Crosse*, in which hee
should by the authority of his
Preaching induce the people to
encline to the Protector's ghostly
purpose. But now was all
the labour and study in the de-
vice of some convenient pre-
text, for which the people
should be content to depose the
Prince, and accept the Pro-
tectour for their King. In
which deuers, things they devi-
sed, but the cheife thing, and
the weight of all that invention
rested in this; that they should
alledge bastardy in King *Ed-
ward* himselfe, or in his chil-
dren, or both; so that he should
seeme disabled to inherite the
Crowne



Crowne by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardy in King *Edward* founded openly to the rebuk of the Protectorours owne mother, which was mother to them both. For in that point could be no other colour, but to pretend that his owne mother was an Adultresse; but neverthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more finely and closely handled, not even fully plaine and directly, but touched upon craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardy they devised to surmise in King *Edward* his Children, that hee desired should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, except wee repeate some thing

things long before done about King Edwards Marriages.

After King Edward the fourth had deposed King Henry the sixt, and was in peaceable possession of the Realme; hee determined with himselfe to marry (as was requisite) both for himselfe and for the Realme: he sent the Earle of Warwick and divers other noble men in ambassage to the French King, to entreate a marriage betweene the King and *Bona*, sister to the French Queene, then being in France. In which thing the Earle of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing, that hee speedily without any difficultie according to his instructions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Now happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the King by Petition Dame Elizabeth Gray, (which after was

was his Queene) then a widow , borne of noble blood, specially by her mother, which was Dutches of *Bedford*, and she was married to sir *Richard Woodvile*, Lord *Rivers*, her Father.

Howbeit, this *Elizabeth* being in service with Queene *Margaret* wife to King *Henry* the sixt , was married to one *John Grey* Esquier, whom King *Henry* made Knight at the last battell of Saint *Albons* , but little while hee enjoyed his knighthood , for at the same field he was slaine.

After when King *Edward* was King, and the Earle of *Warwicke* beeing on his Embassage, this poore Lady made her sute to the King to bee restored to such small lands as her husband had given her in joynture ; who when the King beheld, and heard her speak, as she was both faire

faire and of good favour, moderate of stature, well made, and very wise; he not alone pitched on her, but also waxed enamored on her, and taking her secretly aside, began to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when shee perceived, shee vertuously denyed him but that shee did so wisely, and that with so good manner, and words so well set, that shee rather kindled his desire then quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting & much wooing, and many great promises, she well perceived the Kings affection towards her so greatly increased, that shee durst somewhat the more boldly say her minde, as to him whose heart she perceived more fervently set then to fall off for a word. And in conclusion shee shewed him plaine, that as shee thought her selfe too simple to bee his wife,
fo

so shee thought her selfe too good to be his concubine. The King much marvelling at her constancy, as hee that had not beene before elsewhere so stiffely said nay, so much esteemed her continency and chastity, that he set her vertue in stead of possession and riches: And thus taking counsell of his owne desire, determined in haste to marry her.

And after that hee was thus appointed, and had betwene them twaine assured her, then asked he counsell of his secret friends, and that in such manner, that they might easily perceive that it booted them not to say nay. Notwithstanding, the Dutches of York his mother was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded that marriage as much as shee possible might: alleaging that it was his honour, profit, and surety,

to marry in some noble progeny out of his Realme, whereupon depended great strength to his estate by that affinity, and great possibility of increase of his dominions. And that hee could not well otherwise doe, considering the Earle of *Warwicke* had so farforth entred into the matter already, which was not like to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said further, that it was not Princely to marry his owne Subject, no greater occasion leading thereunto; no possessions nor other commoditie depending thereupon, but onely as a rich man would marry his maiden onely for a little wanton dottage upon her person. In which marriage many men commend more the maidens fortune then the mans wisdom:

dome : and yet shee said that there was more honesty, then honour in this marriage, for asmuch as there is not betweene a Merchant and his maide so great a difference, as betweene a King and his Subject, a great Prince and a poore widdow. In whose person, although there were nothing to bee misliked, yet was there, said shee, nothing so excellent, but that it might bee found in diuers other that were more meete (quoth she) for your estate, yea and maidens also, the onely widowhood of Dame *Elizabeth Grey* (although she were in all other points and things convenient for you) should suffice, as I thinke, to refraine you from her marriage, since it is an unfitting thing, and a great blemish to the sacred Majesty of a Prince, that ought as neere to approach priesthood in clean-

cleannesse, as he doth in dignity, to be defiled with bigamy in his first marriage. The King made his Mother an answer, part in earnest, and part in play merrily, as hee that knew himselfe out of her rule: and albeit he would gladly that shee should take it well, yet was hee at a point in his owne minde, tooke shee it well or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfie her, hee said, that albeit marriage being a spirituall thing, ought rather to be made for the respect of God; where his grace inclineth, the parties ought to incline to love together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regard of any temporall advantage: yet nevertheless he deemed this marriage well considered not to be unprofitable, for hee reckoned the amity of no earthly Nation to be so necessary for him, as

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the

the friendship of his owne, which hee thought likely to beare him so much the more hearty favour, in that hee disdained not to marry with one of his owne Land: and yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would finde the meanes to enter thereunto much better by other of his kin, where all parties could be contented, then to marry himselfe, wherein hee should never haply love, and for the possibility of possessions lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if hee be wived against his appetite, and I doubt not (quoth he) but there be, as you say, others that be in every point comparable with her; and therefore I let not them that like them to marry them, no more is in reason

reason that it mislike any man
that I marry where it liketh
me. And I am sure, that my
Cousin of *Warwicke*, neither
loveth me so little, to grudge
at that that I love, nor is so un-
reasonable, to looke that I
should in choice of a wife ra-
ther be ruled by his eye then
by mine owne, as though I
were a ward that were bound
to marry by the appointment
of a Guardian. I would not be
a King with that condition, to
forbeare mine owne liberty in
choice of mine owne marriage.
As for possibility of more inhe-
ritance by new affinity in
strange Lands, is oft the occasi-
on of more trouble then pro-
fit. And wee have already title
by that meanes, as sufficeth to
so much as sufficeth to get and
keepe well in one mans dayes.
That she is a widdow and hath
already children: By God his

bleſſed Lady, I am a Batchelor and have ſome too, and ſo each of us hath a prooſe, that neither of us is like to be barren. And therefore, Madame, I pray you be content, I truſt to God ſhe ſhall bring forth a young Prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for the bigamy, let the Biſhop hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I underſtand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never knew that it was forbidden a Prince.

The Dutcheſſe with theſe words nothing appeaſed, and ſeeing the King ſo ſet on, that ſhe could not pluck him backe, ſo highly ſhe diſdained it, that, under pretence of her duty toward God, ſhee deviſed to diſturbe this marriage, and rather to helpe, that hee ſhould marry one Dame *Elizabeth Lucie*, whom the King not long before

before had gotten with childe; wherefore the Kings Mother objected openly against this marriage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the King was sure to Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and her husband before God, by reason of which words such obstacle was made in that matter, that either the Bishop durst not, or the King would not proceed to the solemnization of the marriage, till his fame were cleerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was sent for, and albeit shee was by the Kings Mother and many other put in good cōfort that she was ensured to the King, yet when she was solemnly sworne to say the truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, shee said, his Grace spake such loving words to her, that shee ve-

rily hoped, that he would have married her, and if such kinde words had not been, she would never have shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnely taken, it was cleerely proved, that there was no impediment to let the King to marry; wherefore, he shortly after at *Grafton* beside *Stony Stratford* married the Lady *Elizabeth Grey* very privily, which was his enemies wife, and had prayed heartily for his losse, in the which God loved her better, then to grant her her boon, for then had shee not been his wife: And after that shee was crowned *Queene*, and her father was created Earle *Rivers*, and her sonne created Marquesse *Dorset*. But when the Earle of *Warwicke* understood of this marriage, he took it so highly, that there-
of

of ensued much blood-shed, as is declared before in the Story of *Edward* the fourth.

I have rehearsed this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appeare upon how slippery a ground the Protector builded his colour, by which he pretended King *Edwards* children to be Bastards: but the invention, as simple as it was, liked them to whom it sufficeth to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to bee compelled to no larger prooffe then themselves list to make.

Now to returne where I left, as I began to shew you, it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that this Doctor *Shaw* should in a Sermon at *Pauls Crosse* signifie to the people, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*

rence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begotten unlawfully by other persons by adultery of the Dutcheffe their Mother. And Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was the very wife of King *Edward*, and so Prince *Edward* and all the children begotten on the Queen were Bastards. And according to this device, Doctor *Shaw* the Sunday after, at *Paules Crosse*, in a great audience (as alwayes a great number assembled to his preaching) came into the Pulpit, taking for his Theme, *Spuria vitulina non dabunt radices altos*, *Sapien.* 4. that is to say, Bastard slippes shall never take deepe rootes : Whereupon when he had shewed the great grace that God giveth, and secretly infundeth in right generation after the Lawes of
Matri-

Matrimony, then declared hee,
that those children commonly
lacked that grace and (for the
punishment of their parents)
were for the most part unhap-
py, which were illegitimate, and
especially in adultery, of
which though some (by the
ignorance of the world, and
truth hid from knowledge)
have inherited for a season
other mens Landis, yet God al-
wayes so provideth, that it
continueth not in their blood
long, but the truth comming
to light, the rightfull inheri-
tors be restored: and the bastard
slippes plucked up ere it can be
rooted deepe. And when hee
had layed for the prooffe and
confirmation of this sentence,
examples taken out of the old
and new Testament and other
ancient Histories, then began he
to descend to the praise of the
Lord *Richard Duke of Yorke,*

calling him father to the Protector, and declared his Title to the Crowne by inheritance, and also by entaile authorised by Parliament after the death of King *Henry* the sixth. Then shewed he, that the Lord Protector was only the right heire of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared hee, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queene, but his wife before God, was Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his children were Bastards. And besides that, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of *Yorkes* household) were never reckoned surely to be the children of the Noble Duke, as those that by their favours more resembled other knowne men, then him; from whose vertuous conditions, hee said also,

also, that King *Edward* was farre off. But the Lord Protector (quoth hee) that very Noble Prince, the speciall Patron of Knightly Prowesse, as well in all Princely behavior, as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke his Father. This is (quoth he) the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of that Noble Duke.

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come in amongst the people to the Sermon, to the end, that these words so meeting with his presence, might have beene taken amongst the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth.

mouth, and should have moved the people even there to have cryed, King *Richard*, that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle : but this device quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or the Preachers over-hasty diligence. For while the Protector, found by the way tarrying, lest he should have prevented these words, the Doctor fearing that he should come ere his Sermon could come to those words, hastening his matter thereto, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters ere the Protector came, whom when he beheld coming, hee left the matter in hand, and out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the very Noble Prince, the especiall Patrone of

of Knightly prowesse, which
aswell in all Princely behavi-
our, as in the lineaments and
favour of his visage, represen-
teth the very face of the Noble
Duke of *York* his father. This is
his Fathers owne figure, this is
his owne countenance, the very
print of his visage, the sure un-
doubted image, the plaine ex-
presse likenesse of that Noble
Duke, whose remembrance can
never dye while hee liveth :
While these words were spea-
king, the Protector accompa-
nied with the Duke of *Buck-
ingham*, went through the peo-
ple up into the place where the
Doctors stand, where they
heard out the Sermon : but the
people were so farre from cry-
ing *King Richard*, that they
stood as they had beene turned
into stones for wonder of this
shamefull Sermon : after which
once ended, the Preacher gat
him

him home and never after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an owle, and when hee asked any of his old friends, what the people talked of him, although that his owne conscience will shew him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every mans mouth of him much shame spoken, it so strooke him to the heart, that in few dayes after hee withered away.

Then on the Tuesday after, next following this Sermon, being the seventeenth day of *June*, there came to *Guild Hall London*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers Lords and Knights, more then happily knew the message that they brought. And at the East end of the Hall where the Hoystings be kept, the Duke and the Major and the other Lords sate downe,

downe, and the Aldermen also, all the commons of the Citty being assembled and standing before them. After silence commanded upon a great paine in the Protectours name : The Duke stood up, and as hee was well learned and of nature marvelously well spoken, he said to the people with a cleare and a loud voyce : Friends, for the the zeale and hearty favour that we bare you, we bee come to breake off a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasing to God, and profitable to the Realme, nor to no part of the Realme more profitable, then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thing that you have long lacked, and as we well know, sore longed for, that you would have gone farre to fetch : that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour,

bour, paine, cost, adventure, or danger. What thing is that? Certainly the surety of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wives and daughters, and the safegard of your wives and daughters, and the safegard of your goods: Of all which things in times past you stood in doubt. For who was hee of you all that could reckon himselfe Lord of his owne goods, amongst so many gynnes and trappes as were set for them, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was never end, and often times no neede, or if any were, it grew rather of riot, or of unreasonable wast, then any necessary honorable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honest men great substance of goods, to beelashed out among unthrifts, so farre

farre forth that fiftenees sufficed not, nor any usuall termes of knowne taxes, but under an easie name of benevolence and good will, the commissioners tooke so much of every man, as no man would with his good will have given: As though the name of benevolence had signified, that every man should pay, not what he of himselfe of his good will list to grant, but what the King of his good will list to take, who never asked little, but every thing was haun- sed above the measure, amerce- ments turned into fines, fines in- to treason, where I thinke that no man looketh that wee shall remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, which was, for a word spoken, in haste cruelly beheaded. (This *Burdet* was a Merchant dwelling in *Cheape- side* at the signe of the Crowne, which

which now is the signe of the Flower-de-luce: over against *Soper-lane*: This man merily in the ruffling time of King *Edward* the fourths raigne, said to his owne sonne, that hee would make him inheritor of the Crowne, meaning his owne house: but these words King *Edward* made to be misconstrued, and interpreted that *Burden* meant the Crowne of the Realme: wherfore within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawne and quartered in *Cheapeside*, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the Realme for the Princes pleasure; with no lesse honour to *Markam* chiefe Justice then, which lost his office rather then hee would assent to that judgement.

What neede I to speake of fir *Thomas Cooke*, Alderman and Mayor of this noble Cittie? who

who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull that hee remembreth not, or so hard-hearted that he pitttieth not that worshipfull man's losse? what speake I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle and undeserved destruction, onely because it happened him to favour them whom the Prince favored not. We need not rehearse of these any more by name, fith I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselves or their nigh friends, aswell their goods as their persons, were greatly endangered either by fained quarrells or small matters aggravated with hainous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext. For fith the King preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of

of treason, to have beene of kindred or aliance, neere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintance with any of those, that were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at one time or another more then halfe the Realm. Thus were neither your goods nor lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardie, besides the common adventure of open warre; which albeit, that it is ever the will and occasion of much mischief, yet it is never so mischievous, as where any people fall in division, and at distance among themselves: and in no Realme earthly so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst us. And among us never continued so long dissention, nor so many battels in any season, nor so cruell nor so deadly fought as were in the Kings daies that is dead. In
whose

whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, leeing and winning it againe, it hath cost more English blood then hath the twice winning of *France*. In which inward war amongst our selves hath beene so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this Realme, that scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land; besides many a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that have been going to the field, or returning from thence, and peace after, not much surer then warre. So that no time was there in the which rich men for their money, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were out of perill. For whom trusted hee that mistrusted his owne brother? Whom spared hee

hee that killed his owne Brother? Could not such manner of folke that he most favoured doe somewhat (wee shall for his honour spare to speake) howbeit, this you know well all, that whoso was best, bare ever the least rule, and more suite in his dayes was to *Shores* wife, a vile and abominable strumpet, then to all the Lords in *England*, except unto those that made her their Protector, which simple woman was yet well named and honest, till the King for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft her of her Husband, a right honest man and substantiall amongst you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorry to speake of, saying that it is vaine to keepe in Counsell that thing that all men knowe, the Kings greedy appetite was insatiable, and every where
over

over all the Realme intolerable. For no woman was there any where, young or old, poor or rich, whom he set his eye upon, whom hee any thing liked, either for person or beauty, speech, pace or countenance, but without any feare of God, or respect of his Honour, murmure, or grudging of the world, hee would importunately pursue his appetite and have her, to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dole to their husbands and friends, which being honest people of themselves, so much regarded the cleanness of their houses, the chastity of their wives and children, that they had rather lose all that they had besides, then to have such a villany done to them.

And albeit, that with this and other importable dealing,
the

the Realme was in every place annoyed, yet specially you the Citizens of this Nobility, as for that amongst you is most plenty of such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were neereft hand, sith that neere here about was his most common abiding. And yet be yee a people whom he had as singular a cause well and truly to intreat, as any part of his Realme : not onely for that the Prince by this Noble Citie, as of his speciall Chamber and renowned Citie of this Realme, receiveth much honourable fame amongst all other Nations, but also for that, you not without your great cost and sundry favours and dangers in all his warres, bare ever your especiall favour to his part : which your kinde mindes borne to the house of *Yorke*, sith hee hath nothing

wor-

worthily requirid you, there is
of the house now which by
Gods grace shall make you full
recompence, which thing to
shew you, is the whole summe
and effect of our arrand. It
shall not neede I hope, to re-
hearse unto you againe that
you have already heard of him
that can better tell it, and of
whom I am sure ye will better
beleewe it, (and reason it is that
it should bee so) I am not so
proud to looke therefore that
you should receive my words
of so great authority as the
Preachers of the word of God,
namely a man so cunning and
so wise, that no man knoweth
better what hee should doe and
say, and thereto so good and
vertuous that he would not say
the thing, which hee ought not
to say in the pulpit, namely,
into the which no honest man
commeth to lie: which hono-
I rable

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I rable

rable preacher, ye well remember, substantially declared to you at *Paules Crosse* on Sunday last past, the right and title of the most excellent Prince *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, now Protector of this his Realme, which he hath unto the Crowne of the Kingdome of the same. For that worshipfull man made it perfectly and groundedly open unto you. The children of King *Edward the fourth* were never lawfully begotten, for as much as the King (leaving his very wife Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) was never lawfully married to the Queene their mother, whose blood, saving hee set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full unmeetly to be matched with his (the mingling of which two bloods together, hath beene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood

blood of this Realme) whereby it may well be seene, that marriage was not well made, of which there is so much mischief growne. For lacke of which lawfull copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipfull Doctor, rather signified then fully explained, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that every man forbeareth to say that hee knoweth, in avoiding the displeasure that my noble Lord Protector, bearing, as nature requireth a filiall reverence to the Dutches his Mother. For these causes before remembred, I say that for lacke of issue lawfully comming of the late noble Prince *Richard Duke of Yorke*, to whose Royall blood the Crownes of *England* and of *France*, are by the high authority of a parliament entailed, the right and title of the

same is by just course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, devolved and come unto the most excellent Prince the Lord Protector, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore-remembered noble Duke of Yorke. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowesse with many vertues which in his noble person singularly doe abound; The Nobles and Commons of this Realme, and specially of the North parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abuses in the same before used and exercised any longer to continue, have fully condescended and utterly determined to make humble petition unto the puiſant Prince the Lord Protector, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take upon
him

him the guiding & government
of this Realme, to the wealth
and increase of the same, accor-
ding to his very right and just
title; which thing, I know well
hee will bee loth to take upon
him, as he whose wisdom well
perceiveth, the labour and stu-
dy both of mind and body that
shall come therewith to him,
whosoever shall occupy that
roome. I dare say he will, if he
take it (for I warrant you that
that roome is no chilles office)
and that the great wise man
well perceived when he said *Va
regno, cuius Rex puer est*, woe to
that Realme whose King is a
child; wherefore so much the
more cause have we to thanke
God, that this noble personage
which is so righteously entituled
thereto, is of so solid age,
and thereto of so great wise-
dome, joyned with so great ex-
perience, which albeit, he will

bee loth as I have said, to take upon him, yet shall hee to our petition, in that behalfe the more graciously inclin if ye the worshipfull Citizens of this Cittie, being the cheife cittie of the Realme, joyne with us the nobles in our said request, which for your owne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neverthelesse, wee pray you so to doe, whereby ye shall doe great profit to all this his Realme: Beside that, in choosing them so good a King, it shall bee to your selfe a speciall commoditie, to whom his Majestie shall ever after beare so much the more tender favour, in how much hee shall perceive you the more prone and benevolently minded towards his election: wherein deare friends, what minde ye have we require you plainely to shew us: When the Duke had said, and looked that

that the people whom he hoped that the Mayor had framed before, should after this flattering proposition made, have cried King *Richard*, King *Richard*, all was still and mute, and not one word answered unto: wherewith the Duke was marvellously abashed, and taking the Mayor neere to him, with other that were about him privie to the matter, said unto them softly; What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir, quoth the Mayor, perhaps they perceive you not well; that shall we amend, quoth he, if that will helpe, and therewith somewhat lowder rehearsed the same matter againe, in other and other words, so well and orderly, and neverthelesse so evidently and plaine, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that

heard him, and thought that they never heard in their lives so evill a tale so well told. But were it for feare, or that each looked that other should speake first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as whispering among them, by which they might seeme once to commune what was best to doe. When the Major saw this, hee with other partners of the Councell, drew about the Duke and said, that the people had not beene accustomed there to be spoken unto, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth the Citie, and happily to him they will answer. With that the Recorder, called *Thomas Fitz-Wil- liam*, a solid man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before,

before, and loth hee was with that matter to beginne, notwithstanding, being thereunto commanded by the Major, made a rehearfall to the commons of that which the Duke had twice proposed himselfe; but the Recorder so tempered his tale, that hee shewed every thing as the Dukes words were, and no part of his owne, but all this made no change in the people, which all as one stood as they had beene amased. Whereupō, the Duke whispered with the Major, and said, this is a marvellous obstinate silence, and therewith turned to the people againe with these words: Deare friends, wee come to move you to that thing which peradventure wee greatly needed not, but that the Lords of this Realme, and commons of other parts might have sufficed, saving such love wee

beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly doe without you, that thing in which to bee partners is your weale and honour, which as to us seemeth you see not, or weigh not: Wherefore wee require you to give us an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the Nobles of the Realme be, to have this Noble Prince now Protector to be your King? And at these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voyce was neither lowd nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last at the nether end of the hall a company of the Dukes servants and one *Nashfield*, & others belonging to the Protector, with some prentises and lads that thrust themselves into the hall amongst the preasse, began suddenly at mens backes to cry out as loude as they could, King
Richard,

Richard, King *Richard*; and there threw up their cappes in token of joy, and they that stood before cast backe their heads; marvelling thereat, but nothing they said. And when the Duke and the Major saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry and a joyful, to heare every man with one voyce, and no man saying nay. Wherefore friends (quoth the Duke,) sith wee perceive that it is all your whole mindes to have this noble man for your King, whereof wee shall make his grace so effectuall report that we doubt not but that it shall redound to your great wealth and commoditie. Wee therefore require you, that to morrow ye goe with us, and we with you to his Noble Grace, to make our humble Petition and request to him in manner before

fore remmebred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the company dissolved and departed, the most part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merry, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine even at his back to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hearts brast out of their eyes.

Then on the morrow the Major and Aldermen, and chiefe commanders of the Citie in their best manner apanelled, assembling them together at *Pauls*, resorted to *Baynards Castle* where the Protector lay, to which place also according to the appointment repaired the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers nobles with him, besides many Knights and Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke sent word to the Lord Protector of the

the being thereof a great honorable company to move a great matter to his Grace. Whereupon the Protector made great difficultie to come downe to them, except hee knew some part of their errand, as though hee doubted, and partly mistrusted the company of such a number to him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the Duke had shewed this to the Major and others, that they might thereby see how little the Protector looked for this matter; they sent againe by the messenger, such loving message; and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would to no other person disclose any part; At the last hee came out of his chamber,
and

and yet not downe to them, but in a galery over them, with a Bishop on each hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speake to him, as though he would not yet come neere them, till hee knew what they meant. And thereupon, the Duke of *Buckingham* first made humble petition to him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to shew unto his grace the intent of their comming without his displeasure; without which pardon obtained, they durst not bee so bold to moove him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as much honour to his grace, as wealth to all the Realme besids, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom in no wise they would offend. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himselfe,
and

and also longed sore apparently to know what they meant, gave him leave to deliver his message, verily trusting for the good minde that hee bare unto them all, none of them would intend any thing to his hurt, wherewith hee thought to be grieved. When the Duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed hee bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard. And finally, to beseech his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale unto the Realme, now with his eye of pittie to behold the long continued distresse and decay of the same, and set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the Crowne of the Realme according to his right and title lawfully

fully descended unto him, and to the land of God, profit and surety of the Land, and unto his grace so much the more honour and lesse paine, in that that never prince reigned upon any people that were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realme under his.

Whē the Protector had heard the Proposition, he looked very strangely there at, and made answer, that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to bee true, yet such entire love he bare to King *Edward* and his children, & much more regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which hee was never desirous, for in all other nations where the truth were not well knowne, it should peradventure bee thought that it were his owne ambitious mind
and

and device to depose the Prince,
and to take the Crowne him-
selfe; with which infamy hee
would in no wise have his ho-
nour stayned for any crowne,
in which he ever had perceived
much more labour and paine,
then pleasure to him that so
would use it, as hee that would
not and were not worthy to
have it. Notwithstanding, hee
not onely pardoned them of
the motion that they made
him, but also thanked them for
the love and hartly favour they
bare him, praying them for his
sake to beare the same to the
Prince under whom he was and
would bee content to live, and
with his labour and counsaile,
as far as it should like the King
to use it, he would do his utter-
most devoir to set the Realme
in good estate which was al-
ready in the little time of his
Protectorship (prayed be God)
well

well begun, in that the malice of such as were before the occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to bee, were now partly by good policy, partly more by Gods providence, then mans provision, repressed and put under.

Vpon this answer given, the Duke of *Buckingham* by the Protector's licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the Major and Recorder of *London*. And after that upon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed alowd unto the Protector, for a finall conclusion, that the Realme was determined that King *Edwards* line should no longer reigne over them, both that they had so far gone, that it was now no suretie to retreate (as for that they thought it the best way for the whole Realme, although they had

had not yet begun it.) Wherefore if it would like his Grace to take the Crowne upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto, and if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary (which they would be both to heare) then must they seek, and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moved the Protector, which as every man of small intelligence may judge, would never have enclined thereto: but when he saw there was no other way but that he must take it, or else hee and his both to goe from it, hee said to Lords and Commons, sith it is, we perceive well, that all the Realme is so set (whereof we be very sorry) that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edward* his line to governe them, whom no man earthly can governe against their wills: And

And we also perceive that there is no man to whom the Crown can by so just title appertain as to our selfe; as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most dread and deare Father *Richard* late Duke of *Torke*, to which title is now joyned your election, the nobles and commons of the Realme, which wee of all titles possibly take for most effectually, wee bee content and agree favorably to encline to your petition and request, and according to the same, here we take upon us the Royall estate of preheminance and Kingdome of the two Noble Realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward by us and our heires to rule, governe, and defend, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get againe, subdue and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realme

of

of England, the advancement whereof, we never aske of God longer to live then we intend to procure and set forth. With this there was a great cry and shout, crying King *Richard*, and so the Lords went up to the King, and so hee was after that day so called. But the people departed talking diversly of the matter, every man as his fantastic gave him, but much they marvelled of this manner of delaying, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though never the one part had communed with the other part thereof before, when they knew that there was no man so dull that heard them; but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made betweene them. Howebeit, some excused that againe, saying; all things must bee done in good order, and men must sometimes for the manner

manner sake not bee knowne what they know. For at the consecration of a Bishop, every man perceiveth by payment of his Bulles that hee intendeth to bee one, yet when hee is twice asked whether he will bee a Bishop, he must twice say nay, and at the third time take it upon him as compelled thereto by his owne will. And in a stage play, the people know right well that hee that playeth the Soldan, is perhaps a cobbler yet if one of his acquaintance perhaps of little nurture should call him by his name while hee standeth in his Majesty, one of his tormentors might fortune to breake his head for marring the play. And so they said, these matters bee Kings games, as it were stage-playes, and for the most part played upon scaffolds, in which poore men bee but lookers on, and they

they that bee wise, will med-
dle no further, for they that
step up with them, when they
cannot play their parts, they
disorder the play, and doe
themselves no
good.



F I N I S.